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THE HATHOR-COW.

THE XITH DYNASTY TEMPLE

AT

DEIR EL-BAHARI

PART I.

BY

EDOUARD NAVILLE

HON. D.C.L., LL.D., PH.D., LITT.D., HON. F.S.A.

CORRESPONDENT OF THE INSTITUTE OF FRANCE;
FOREIGN MEMBER OF THE HUNGARIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCE;
FELLOW OF KING'S COLLEGE, LONDON;
PROFESSOR OF EGYPTOLOGY AT THE UNIVERSITY OF GENEVA

WITH CHAPTERS BY

H. R. HALL, M.A.,

ASSISTANT IN THE DEPARTMENT OF EGYPTIAN AND ASSYRIAN ANTIQUITIES, BRITISH MUSEUM

AND

E. R. AYRTON

TWENTY-EIGHTH MEMOIR OF

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PREFACE.

The excavation of the XIth Dynasty temple at Deir el-Bahari finishes the work which the Egypt Exploration Fund undertook in 1893, when, on the 7th of February, I set eighty-five workmen to dig in the Great Temple, one third of which had been uncovered by Mariette.

Ten years afterwards, on November 5th, 1903, I started the excavation of the huge mounds on the south side of the Great Temple, which I was certain concealed interesting relics of the XIth Dynasty. Remains of that time had been found in the former work, especially in the court at the foot of the Hathor-shrine, where one of the finest wooden coffins of that epoch, with all its paraphernalia, had been discovered. This led me to think that it was a cemetery which lay under these mounds; and I was very much surprised, when, a few days after having begun, we came upon a platform, the central part of the temple now completely unearthed, the oldest one which is to be seen at Thebes.

My first and most pressing duty is to thank all my fellow-workers, without whose valuable help and persevering labour the work of four winters could not have been carried out.

In November, 1903, a few days after I had started the excavation, I was joined by Mr. H. R. Hall, whom I had to leave very soon. After my departure Mr. Hall had alone the charge of the excavations during the whole of the first season, and he directed them in each of the two following winters before my arrival. In the second season, at the end of October, 1904, the work was resumed by Mr. Hall and Mr. E. R. Ayrton, whom I joined in January, 1905, and we had the voluntary help of Mr. H. Garnett-Orme. Again Mr. Hall and Mr. C. T. Currelly started the digging in November, 1905; I arrived in January, 1906, and Mr. J. T. Dennis and Mr. M. D. Dalison came to help us, Mr. Dennis in making drawings and photographs, Mr. Dalison in supervising the workmen and also making photographs.

During three weeks in December, 1906, before my arrival, Mr. Currelly, assisted by Mr. Dennis, was in charge of the excavations. Mr. Dalison joined us shortly afterwards, and Mr. Hall spent three weeks on the site at the end of the work. This has been the last campaign, and there will be no more at Deir el-Bahari, since we may now say that Deir el-Bahari is finished.

This volume is by no means a final record of what has been found. It is only the first part, which will have to be completed and corrected on certain points by a second part. When the text was written last autumn, before the concluding campaign, we were still uncertain as to its results, and especially as to what we should discover at the end of the passage before the entrance of which we stopped last year. Some of our views having been modified by our latest discoveries (1907), we made the necessary alterations in what we had originally written, but nevertheless the book must still be considered as the description of a work which was yet unfinished. The final plan, which could only be made when the whole building had been cleared, and therefore could not appear in this volume, will probably give us further important indications as to the date of

certain parts of the construction. The Plan published in this volume (Plate ii.), which shows the temple at the end of the third season's work, has been prepared by Mr. C. R. Peers from a working-plan by Mr. Ayrton (with additions by Mr. Currelly), which was based on measurements taken by Mr. Peers on the spot at the end of the first season (Jan. 1904). As regards the shrines of the princesses, it will only be possible to get a definite idea of their size and shape after a careful sifting and study of the numerous small fragments which are the poor remains of these beautiful and interesting monuments. This work is being done by Madame Naville.

The plates show the state of ruin in which this temple, unique in its kind, has been found, and the impossibility of attempting any repairs, not to say restoration.

We are indebted for some very fine negatives to Dr. Borchardt, who took them at the beginning of the third season. The photographs of the Hathor-cow in the Museum at Cairo are due to the skilled hand of Brugsch Pasha. The coloured plate of the cow is made from a water-colour by Mr. M. Reach, and the coloured plates of the sarcophagus of Kemsit from drawings by Madame Naville. All the phototypes and coloured plates have been executed by the "Société des Arts Graphiques," at Geneva, which under its former name, Thévoz & Co., made the plates for several of my previous memoirs. The scanty and fragmentary remains which are seen on these plates have revealed to us a style of art very little known, and a funereal structure of which there is no other specimen in Egypt.

EDOUARD NAVILLE.

Malagny, *April*, 1907.

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THE XITH DYNASTY TEMPLE AT DEIR EL-BAHARI.

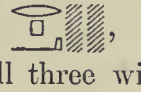
CHAPTER I.

MENTUHETEP II. AND THE XITH DYNASTY.

By Edouard Naville.

The question of the number of the kings of the XIth Dynasty, and of the order in which they followed each other, is a very difficult one, with regard to which opinions differ considerably. These kings all bear the name of Antef or Mentuhetep. How many of these were real kings, and how many were vassals, or governors of provinces? This is a problem to which we are not yet in a position to give a definite solution. It would be out of place here to discuss the various systems which have been proposed; but we are bound to say that none of the numbers or of the arrangements appears satisfactory, neither the six kings admitted by Prof. Steindorff and Prof. Sethe, nor the seven whose succession Prof. Breasted endeavours to prove, nor the nine of the list of Prof. Petrie. As M. Maspero says, the classification of these kings is still very uncertain, and nearly every year brings new documents and new names.

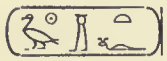
The lists of Sakkarah and Abydos mention only two of these kings. There are more in the list of Karnak, which is, however, unreliable as to the order. The papyrus of Turin cannot safely be quoted, since we do not know the length of the gap which exists between the fragment which is supposed to give the end of the dynasty and the next; so that at present it is impossible to give a definite number, and that of sixteen given by Manetho seems the most probable.

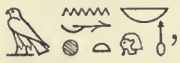
We have now some new information as to the beginning of the dynasty. The list of Karnak mentions as Nos. 12 to 15 an Antef with the title of  , a Mentuhetep and two Antefs, all three with the title which is the usual beginning of a *ka* name. Prof. Steindorff calls this one of the unexplained difficulties of the list. But curiously a newly-acquired stele of the British Museum (No. 1203) confirms the list in this respect.[1]

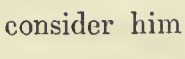
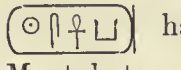
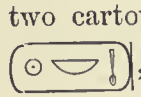
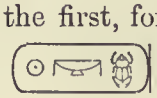
This stele gives a series of three kings in whose service a high official named Antef had lived. They are in the following order:— , , . These three names were known before. The first one is the king for whom was erected the famous stele with the dogs,[2] *Behukaa* and the rest. He is called there

[1] I am indebted to the kindness of Dr. Budge for permission to make use of this unpublished document.

[2] Mariette, *Monuments*, pl. 49.

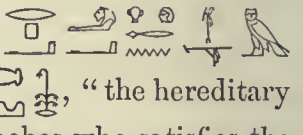
or . He occurs again in an inscription at Elephantine, in the Abbott papyrus, and on a stele (now in the British Museum) of a person called ,[1] where his name is written  . Everywhere, except in the document first quoted and in a stele at Leyden, the king's name is enclosed in a cartouche; but there never are two, one only following the Horus or *ka* name.

The same may be said of the second king  , who is also known from a monument at Abydos,[2] where after his *ka* name he is called . On the stele of his name is written . This last document says that he is the former Antef's son.

The third king is less known. The beginning of his *ka* name is found in a stele at Cairo , which has induced Prof. Sethe to consider him to be king Sankhkara  , the last king of the dynasty; but this identification is certainly wrong, since this Mentuhetep is a king with only one cartouche, while  has two. The cartouche of this Mentuhetep, whom we may well call the first (Mentuhetep I.), is at present found only in the list of Karnak, as No. 12.[3] This list quotes the sole cartouche of each of these three kings, following the ; while, where a king had two cartouches, it quotes the first, for instance  , Mentuhetep, or  Antef.

We may thus feel certain that these three kings had only one cartouche, and a Horus name. This points decidedly to sovereigns who did not rule over the whole of the country. The use of two cartouches seems to be a Memphite custom which the kings of the first Dynasties did not adopt before they had united under their dominion the two parts of Egypt, although some of them had already the title of , as these princes of the XIth Dynasty had.

The first Antef and Mentuhetep must have exercised their power over the southern part of Middle Egypt, and over a region extending as far as Elephantine. Although, as I believe, they came originally from Coptos, they took Thebes for their capital, and this city retained this position even when they had conquered or annexed Lower Egypt. This is the reason why Thothmes III. mentions them in his list; they were kings who had reigned at Thebes, and who were worshipped and buried there, and to whom, perhaps, he erected statues, as one may gather from the last excavations at Karnak.

Though these princes were rulers of Upper Egypt only, and therefore have to be placed at the beginning of the dynasty, I believe there is one before them, who may well be considered as its founder. It is the [4] of the Karnak list, whom it is natural to identify with the owner of a stele found by Mariette at Drah Abou el Negga.[5] He is called  , "the hereditary prince, the first lord of Thebes who satisfies the heart of the king, the keeper of the southern door," besides other titles which are not easy to understand. Evidently he was a man in high

[1] Breasted, *New Light on the History of the Eleventh Dynasty.*

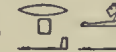
[2] Mariette, *Cat. d'Abydos*, No. 544.

[3] It is possible that we have a mention of this king (Pl. xii. d), where at the place of the first cartouche we have the signs .

[4] The two copies of Lepsius differ as to the cartouche. In the latter one, which he says was collated with the original, there is none.

[5] Mariette, *Mon.*, pl. 50.

position in the southern part of the country, though he was not a king, since one of his titles distinctly shows that there was a king whose subject and even favourite he was. However, as he appears on the Karnak list with the others who adopted the *ka*-name and the cartouche, we may well call him Antef I. Thus we should reconstitute the beginning of the dynasty in the following way:—

Antef I.,  , governor of Thebes.

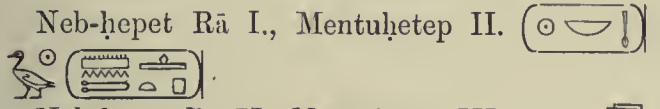
Antef II., *Horus* Uaḥ-ānkh , with one cartouche only.

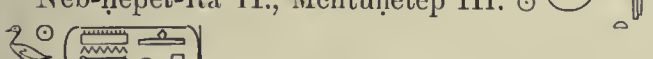
Antef III., *Horus* Nekht-neb-ṭep-nefer , with one cartouche only.

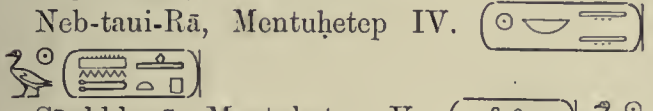
Mentuḥetep I., *Horus* Sānkh-ȧb-taui , with one cartouche only.

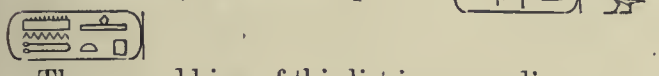
These four princes, three of whom were kings, ruled over Upper Egypt only, and we have every reason to suppose that in their time the two parts of Egypt were not yet united as one kingdom.

The other kings whom we know to have belonged to this dynasty[1] are the following:—

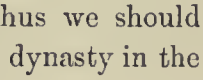
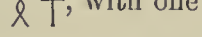
Neb-ḥepet Rā I., Mentuḥetep II.  .

Neb-ḥepet-Rā II., Mentuḥetep III. 

Neb-taui-Rā, Mentuḥetep IV. 

Sānkhkarā, Mentuḥetep V. 

The second king of this list is a new discovery, being known only from our excavations and from a stele found by M. Daressy, mentioned below. As we shall see later, though his prenomen and that of the first king read in the same way, they are not one and the same person, as was thought at first.

To these five Mentuheteps we must add a second new one discovered in the course of excavations at Deir el-Bahari, namely, Sekhā-n-Rā Mentuḥetep  (Pl. xii. i, j), and a king, of whom also we have found a slab, who had been discovered before at El Kab and Gebelein, namely (Ded-nefer-Rā) Dudu(mes)  .[2] These two last are certainly of less importance, and there are no separate monuments of them. They may be counted among the sixteen kings of Manetho, or they may perhaps belong to another dynasty than the XIth. We shall not attempt to find them a place. The question is, in which order are we to place the first five Mentuheteps? The first and last only of the series are mentioned in the list of Abydos, which passes from Sankhkara to the XIIth Dynasty. We have no reason to disagree with the list as to this king, especially considering that his first cartouche has a different form from that of the three other ones, which seem to belong together.

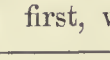
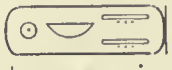
As for the first, , the builder of the temple which we have discovered at Deir el-Bahari, his *ka*-name is (Pl. xii. h), "he who joins the two countries," his "Golden Hawk" name is , *Qa-shuti*, and it seems probable that he was the first king of the XIth Dynasty who ruled over the whole of Egypt. In later times not only was he called a god and worshipped, but he was venerated as the author of some event of great importance; his name was associated with those of Menes and Aahmes the liberator. It is natural to suppose that these special honours were conferred upon him because he put an end to the period of anarchy which had prevailed

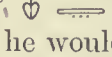
[1] The king "Neb-ḥetep" Mentuḥetep discovered by Lepsius at Konosso is not included in this list, as his name is probably a misreading of the prenomen of Neb-hepet-Rā II. (see p. 7).

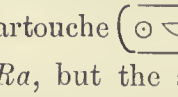
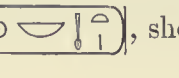
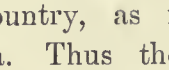
[2] SAYCE, FRAZER, *P.S.B.A.*, June, 1893, figs. ii. and xviii.

before, and that he succeeded in restoring to the kingdom its former extent.

Therefore I believe he must be put at the head of the kings with two cartouches. He would thus be Mentuhetep II. (Pl. xii. d, g, h). It is he who built the temple, which after his death and under his successors was probably used as a burial place for princesses, who were at the same time priestesses of Hathor, and who had there their tombs and their shrines. That seems to be the reason why we have found in the temple the names of the two following Mentuheteps, which come from these shrines.

These two kings were both warriors, and there is hardly any reason to put one before the other. The greater similarity of the names and the fact that he had to fight also the neighbouring nations of Egypt, would induce me to put  first, while the great work at Hamamât of  would point to a more settled country, as is the case also with Sankhkara. Thus the XIth Dynasty would consist of two series of kings, those who reigned only in Upper Egypt, and who had only one name, and four Mentuheteps, who ruled over the whole country. It is quite possible that we may have to insert in the list two or three less powerful princes.

, the builder of the temple, is in my opinion the first king of the XIth Dynasty who joined the two parts of Egypt under his sceptre, and who ruled over the whole country. His *ka* name  seems to prove it. It is not likely that he would have taken this name if the task of the restoring his kingdom to the size which it had under the first dynasties of the Old Empire had been achieved by one of his predecessors.

His first cartouche  , has long been read *Neb-kheru-Ra*, but the spelling of the Abbott Papyrus,  , showed that the last sign is different from that which is read *kheru*.[1] It seems evident that has the same reading as in the name of the next king, so that these two Mentuheteps, who I take to be father and son, would have their first names sounding exactly alike, though they were written with different signs. *Neb-hepet-Ra*, or *Ra-neb-hepet*, would be the first name of both. These two signs, the oar and , which is supposed to be a mason's square, are very often connected, especially in a ceremony which occurs often at the entrance of temples and which, I believe, refers to the foundation of the building. We have an instance of it in this temple (Pl. xii. e). The king is seen making a long stride, and holding in one hand the oar, and in the other the . I suppose that it means that the king is measuring in strides the ground which is to be consecrated to the god. This ceremony is called  , "taking possession of the oar," or of "the square." The oar has certainly a symbolical meaning.

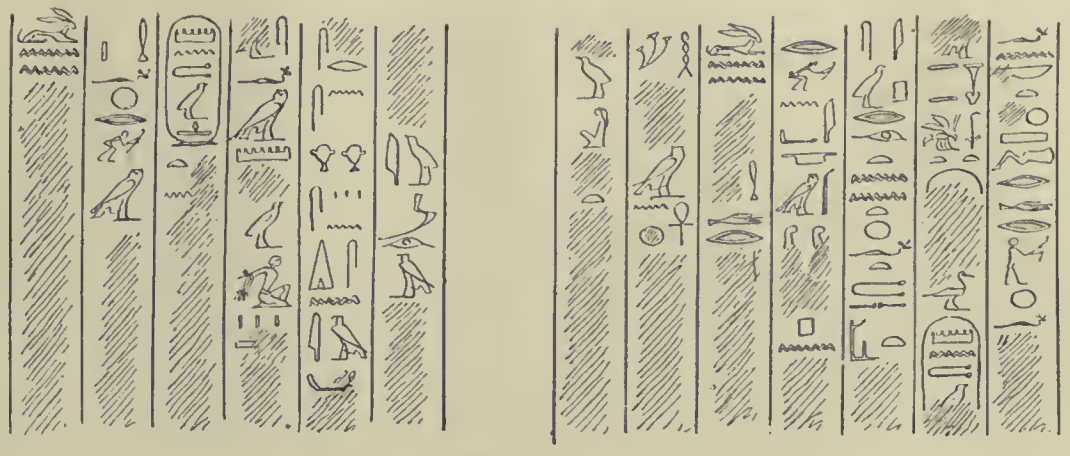
The first Neb-hepet-Rā Mentuhetep, whom, according to the reconstruction of the dynasty which I here propose, I call Mentuhetep II., must have been a very powerful king. His rule was well established, since he reigned more than forty-six years, as we know from the tablet of one of his officials called Meru.[2] Nevertheless he has not left many monuments besides this temple.

The fact of his having ruled over Lower Egypt is proved by the inscription of one of his officials who was priest in the Heliopolitan nome, and who had at the same time an employment at Elephantine[3]; and also by

[1] Since this was written we have found beautifully carved hieroglyphs showing distinctly that the sign is an oar, and therefore reads *hepet*.

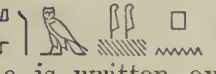
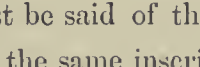
[2] *Catalogue of Turin;* Stele No. 1447.

[3] PETRIE, *Season in Egypt*, No. 243.

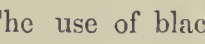


b Fig. 1. a

a fragment in which the king is associated with Buto.[1]

But the best proof of his being the ruler of the Delta is his wars against the *Aamu*. These wars are recorded in two very ruined fragments of an historical inscription, where are mentioned the  *these Aamu* (fig. 1, a). The name is written exactly as in the much older inscription of Una (ll. 13, 14). They wear feathers on their heads. I believe they were mentioned in another fragment (Pl. xiv. e), where a man with a feather is also followed by the pronoun *these*, meaning probably that they were represented on the sculptures to which these inscriptions belonged. Therefore I consider as being Aamu the foreign warriors, of whom there were many representations in the temple; the men with pointed beards pierced by the arrows of the king (Pl. xiv. a, d, f, xv. b, c, f, i), or killed by the battle-axes of the soldiers; also the women carrying their children in baskets. All we know of the Aamu always points to their having lived on the eastern frontier of Egypt, in the Sinaitic peninsula, and further east; therefore a king who fought them must have had the command of the Delta. The same must be said of the  who appear in the same inscription (Fig. 1, b).

[1] Wiedemann, *Gesch.* p. 227.

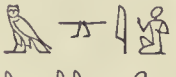
Mentuhetep II. fought also other nations, whose chiefs are said to be bowing down before him (Pl. xiv. b). It is probable that he made war on the Negroes. A fragment from his temple, now in the Museum at Geneva, shows a prisoner of black colour, coming probably from the Upper Nile. One may suppose that in his expeditions against the Asiatics the king used Negro troops, as Una had done long before. On a fragment of a broken statue, the date of which it is difficult to fix, but which I believe to be a little later than the XIth Dynasty (Pl. xxvi. d, e), the man who is a standard-bearer called , is said to be  , the head of the Negro mercenaries. The use of black troops was a custom which began very early, but which lasted very late.

As I said before, I believe Mentuhetep II. to have been the renovator of the Egyptian monarchy, which had passed through very troubled times, and also had been much weakened by internal dissensions. His title seems to establish it clearly; but the act which most strongly contributed to give him a high position in the memory of the following rulers, chiefly of the XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasties, is his having chosen Thebes as his capital. Thus he was the founder of the great power to which this city rose under the XIIth Dynasty, soon after his time. We do not know

what he built on the east side of the city. His constructions there probably disappeared under the huge buildings which afterwards developed into the temple of Karnak. The stele of the XIIth Dynasty, found at Deir el-Bahari this year (Pl. xxiv.), and his funerary temple show that he firmly established and gave a considerable extension to the worship of Amon of Thebes. In this sense the kings of the XIth Dynasty were Diospolites, as Manetho calls them; but judging from the inscriptions which they have left at Hamamât, their native city must have been Coptos, and their special god Min, who was worshipped in that city.

From Mentuhetep II.'s time onward we may consider Egypt as again one kingdom, having Thebes for its capital. There the king desired to leave a lasting monument of his reign, in the city which he had chosen. So far as we know, Mentuhetep II. (Neb-hepet-Rā I.) was the first to raise at Thebes what has been called a Memnonium, a funerary temple which at the same time should be a memorial of his life. This is the temple which we have excavated, and is described in this book. On the walls of this building, where he was worshipped together with Amon, he caused pictorial and written narratives and descriptions to be engraved of the chief events of his life; those which he looked on as the most glorious and from which he derived the greatest pride. His wars are depicted, and the hunting scenes, of which we found fragments, give us some idea of his amusements (Pl. xvi.). His Memnonium is a sort of compromise between the burial of the Old Empire, the pyramid to which was linked a small temple, and the funerary chapel which under the XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasties is completely separated from the tomb, and which is at the same time a place of worship and the record of the life of the sovereign. Mentuhetep's temple is an innovation, and this renders it so extremely interesting, especially as regards the question of how his actual tomb, if, as seems probable, it is here, was connected with the sanctuary.

It is probable that in Mentuhetep's time his temple was one of the largest that had been built; we may suppose that it was the most considerable on that side of Thebes, the city which he had raised to be his capital. He constructed his funerary chapel during his life; it is probable that he did not wait till his last years to lay the first stone and to erect the walls. He must have begun very soon. The walls were ready beforehand: the decorations followed in succession, as events took place, the record of which he wished to be engraved in his Memnonium. In this respect Hatshepsu exactly imitated her predecessor. She reigned with her nephew Thothmes III. when she raised her funerary chapel, the great temple at Deir el-Bahari. To herself during her lifetime was instituted the worship which was to last after her death. Mentuhetep had set her the example. It is not his successor, it is himself, who had the rock cut in the shape of a platform, on which stood a pyramid surrounded by colonnades of square pillars sheltering walls covered with sculptures, where the glorious events of his reign were described. Although we have no fragment stating it in a positive way, there seems to be no doubt that even in his time Mentuhetep was the god of this temple, where he is represented as living. When the kings who succeeded him brought him offerings as to the god of the place, they acted in conformity to what he had instituted. It was not only after his death that he had been deified.

We have found several names of officials during his reign, from which we shall be able to date monuments bearing these names. We have several treasurers, *Nekht*,  *Masi*, *Kereri*, and , *Ápait* (Pl. xvii. g, h) the official *Dag*, treasurer and judge, whose tomb

was discovered by Lepsius, the judge *Bebi*, on a large slab, now in the British Museum (No. 724), from the eastern wall of the ambulatory, and especially the well-known chancellor and chief treasurer *Kheti* (see below), whose name is that of the kings attributed to the Xth Dynasty. A fragment refers to a man whose name is broken, but who seems to have been the son of an Antef, and whose title was , which I translate "chief of the hunting country" (fig. 2).

Fig. 2.

In a sculpture found in the Shatt er-Riggâla, near Silsileh, is seen the king Mentuhetep II. and before him a prince called , followed by the treasurer Kheti, mentioned above. Behind the king is a woman holding a sceptre and a lotus, and above her are these words: .[1] "The royal mother who loves him, Aah." The question is, whose mother is Aah said to be, Mentuhetep's or Antef's? In my opinion she is the mother of Antef who stands before his parents.

I cannot believe, however, that this Antef was Mentuhetep's successor. If he had been so, after his father's death he would have assumed a second cartouche; but there is no Antef with two cartouches who may be placed after Neb-hepet-Rā in the XIth Dynasty. The fact of his name being enclosed in a cartouche means that he was the heir, who was to inherit the crown, but probably he died young, and never came to the throne. We might quote several similar instances, one of the most striking of which is the prince ,[2] one of the sons of Thothmes I., who was already one of the generals of his father, and who evidently died young.

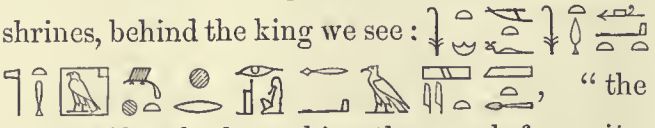
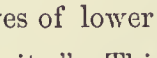
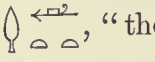
I believe the successor of Mentuhetep II. appears in a fragment of sculpture from our temple (Pl. xii. b) as , "the (royal) son Mentuhetep," carrying a battle-axe, and holding a bow in his right hand. The fragment comes from the war scenes. He is following a tall man whose leg only has been preserved, and who evidently is his father. From the fragments which we found in the excavations it seems natural to suppose that this Mentuhetep coming after the king whose *ka*-name was , is , whose *ka*-name appeared several times on the shrines of the priestesses. This *ka*-name has long been considered as belonging to a king called ; but a stone found at Thebes, for the knowledge of which I am indebted to the kindness of M. Daressy, gives us the following name, , which leaves no doubt as to being the *ka*-name of Neb-hepet-Ra II.[3]

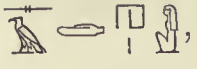
We have come to the same conclusion through the name of his queen (Pl. xvii. e). We see that the queen of was , Aashait, and Pl. xii. k, under the signs , we read the remains of , the first signs of of the name of the princess, which probably was followed by a word like , consort.

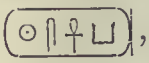
[1] Quoted from PETRIE, *Season*, No. 483.

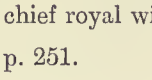
[2] GRÉBAUT, *Recueil*, vii., p. 142.

[3] See also the note on p. 3.

The titles of queen Aashait are known to us. On one of the fragments coming from the shrines, behind the king we see:  , "the royal wife, who loves him, the royal favourite, the only one, the priestess of Hathor, beloved of Osiris, Aashait" (Pl. xvii. e). She is said to be dead, but on the fragment the king is spoken of as dead also. On another fragment (Pl. xii. a) she is probably the queen represented behind the king. Aashait has the title of royal wife; she undoubtedly was Mentuhetep's queen and probably the first in rank, but she was not the only one.[1] We must admit that besides their regular wives the kings had in their harîms wives of lower rank called  , "the royal favourite." This was already the custom under the Old Empire, as we know from the tombs. Here these priestesses of Hathor are called  , "the royal favourite, the only one;" but we cannot suppose that there was only one at a time; for we find remains of processions of these princesses, and we must admit that they lived at the same time, for they are not said to be dead.

The titles of some of them have not been preserved; those whose coffins and shrine-fragments have been discovered,  , *Sadhe*, , *Henhenit*, , *Kauit*, , *Kemsit*, , , *Tamâit* ("The Cat"), are all royal favourites. Therefore we must conclude that there was a college of priestesses of Hathor who all had the title of royal favourites, or that the princesses of the harîm of the king, probably those who lived at Thebes, were priestesses of Hathor, specially devoted to the goddess. This religious character given to the wives of the king has nothing surprising about it, considering that the king himself was a god. All the kings of Egypt, from the Thinite period down to the Roman emperors, were gods, and we see in several instances the kings of the XIth Dynasty taking the appearance of Amon and Min.[2]

The king whom I consider to be the successor of Mentuhetep III., and who would be Mentuhetep IV., is , who was more powerful still than his predecessor or father, and who certainly ruled over the Delta, for he drew soldiers from it. We found his name on a fragment in the temple. As for  , Sankhkara, Mentuhetep V., he has not yet been discovered in the temple. He is chiefly known through his expedition to Punt. But no XIth Dynasty mention of that country has yet been discovered in the excavations, and we cannot yet say that he, or a thousand years afterwards the powerful queen Hatshepsu, took example from Neb-hepet-Ra when they sent their ships to the land of frankincense.

[1] A gold-mounted scarab in the British Museum (No. 40855) bears her name spelt , with the title,  , "chief royal wife." Cf. Newberry, *P.S.B.A.* xxiv. (1902), p. 251.

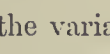
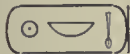
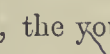
[2] Lepsius, *Denkm.* ii. 150, 14, 19.

CHAPTER II.

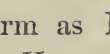
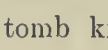
THE TEMPLE AND ITS EXCAVATION.

By H. R. Hall.

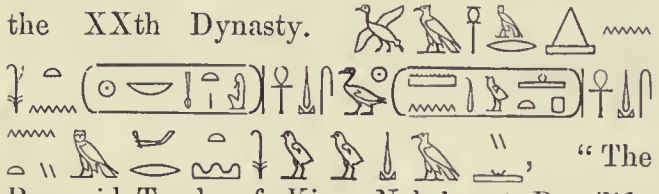
1. The Temple.

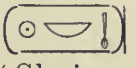
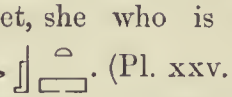
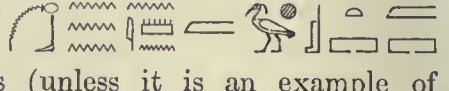
The XIth Dynasty temple at Deir el-Bahari is the funerary chapel of the king Mentuḥetep II., who bore the prenomen , Neb-ḥepet-Rā, which used to be read "Neb-kheru-Rā," till the variant form  was found at Deir el-Bahari by us. M. Naville has stated in the previous chapter his opinion that there were two kings bearing the name of *Neb-ḥepet-Rā*, perhaps father and son, who spelt their prenomens differently, the elder as  , the younger as  . If this is so, the temple was evidently the work of the elder king, and the younger completed it, probably adding the shrines of the princesses, which, as we shall see, may have been afterthoughts: it is on the walls of these that the name occurs.

The Theban dead had always been buried on the western bank of the river, under the shadow of the *Ḳurn*, the great stack mountain, sacred to Hathor, which rises immediately above the cliffs of Deir el-Bahari. Here the benign cow Hathor ruled the dead in her capacity as Mistress of the Waste, sometimes appearing in serpent-form as Mersegret, "She who loveth silence." Here, in *Tjesret* or *Zesret*, "the Holy," the necropolis of the XIth Dynasty Thebans was set, and here at least one, and probably two, of their monarchs were buried. The great royal tomb known as the *Bâb el-Hoṣân*, discovered by Mr. Howard Carter in 1898, is apparently the cenotaph[1] of a king of this dynasty. Neb-ḥepet-Rā I. must himself have been buried close by, probably in a rock-cut tomb in the cliffs at the back of his temple, though the great *bâb* excavated in 1907 is apparently a cenotaph or "tomb-sanctuary" of the royal *ka*, rather than the king's actual tomb (see p. 35). The royal tombs were at that day not far separated from their chapels; this fact must be borne in mind. It was not then, as it was in the days of Thothmes and Rameses, that the monarch's body was laid in his "August Habitation of the West," which was constructed "no man seeing, no man knowing," by the "Overseer of the Works of the Place of Eternity," in the remote valley of the Tombs of the Kings. The chapels of these later tombs were

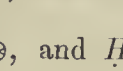
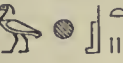
[1] Though the tomb had never been opened, nothing, beyond the remains of the offerings, was found in it but a seated statue of the king in the *ḥeb-sed* costume, wrapped up, like a mummy, in bandages, and a small box, of the same style as the model coffins described on pp. 49, 50 (Carter, *Ann.* ii. 201). This was inscribed with the name "Son of the Sun Mentuhetep," after which is a gap, which originally contained either the signs , "deceased," or the prenomen, which cannot have been  , but may have been . Mr. Newberry (*P.S.B.A.* xxii. 292) thought it was , but M. Naville has shown that this name is an incorrect form, being due to a misreading of  (see p. 7 above).

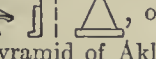
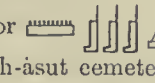
placed on the hither side of the mountain, on the borders of the cultivation in the valley itself, and merely pointing vaguely in the general direction of the tombs to which they belonged. The two first kings of the XVIIIth Dynasty had been buried in the Dra' Abu 'l-Negga, on the hither side of the mountain, with their tomb-chapels adjoining their tombs. The kings of the XIIth Dynasty would have been buried in the same way, had they been interred at Thebes. They, however, preferred the neighbourhood of their favourite "Lake-Province" of the Fayyûm. Some of the kings of the XIth Dynasty were probably buried at Deir el-Bahari, and we cannot doubt that their tombs were close to their funerary chapels. For this reason the tomb of Neb-ḥepet-Rā I. is probably near his temple, while the *Bâb el-Hosân* may have been (if not the actual tomb) the *ka*-sanctuary of his successor, who added the shrines to the plan of the original builder, and so to some extent shares with him the ownership of the temple.

The tomb of Neb-ḥepet-Rā I. is said to have been intact at the time of the royal inquest into the tomb-robberies at Thebes in the reign of Rameses IX., of the XXth Dynasty.  , "The Pyramid-Tomb of King Neb-ḥepet-Rā (life, wealth, health!), Son of the Sun, Mentuḥetep (life, wealth, health!), which is in Tjesret (Zesret); it was intact." *Zeser-zesru-Amon* ("Holy of Holies of Amon") is the ancient name of the Great Temple of Queen Hatshepsu at Deir el-Bahari; and the shortened form *Zesret* was from the time of Hatshepsu onwards used for Deir el-Bahari generally. The tomb then was at Deir el-Bahari, as we have assumed from what we know of the custom of the period before the XVIIIth Dynasty.

The name of the tomb is given us by the stela of a certain Tetu, priest of its chapel, who was buried at Abydos.[1] The name was  , *Ȧkh-ȧsut-Neb-ḥepet-Rā*, "Glorious are the Seats of King Neb-ḥepet-Rā," determined by a pyramid. The chapel, which is the temple excavated by us, was known by the same name in its shortened form, *Ȧkh-ȧsut*, or *Ȧkh-ȧset* simply. In inscriptions found on the spot during these excavations the name occurs determined by the sign of a building, , which is used specifically for a temple, only; thus a certain Aakheperka "was priest of the *house* (i.e. temple) Ȧkh-ȧset" under the XVIIIth Dynasty. But in the inscriptions of the XVIIIth Dynasty temple of Hatshepsu the name *Ȧkh-ȧset* seems to signify not a single building but the place Deir el-Bahari generally. On a small stela of the XVIIIth Dynasty found by us we find *Ȧkh-ȧset* synonymous with *Zesret*: Hathor is called "lady of Zesret, she who is in Ȧkh-ȧset,"  . (Pl. xxv. e). On another stela (Pl. xxvi. b) of the same date is mentioned a "priest of Amen in Ȧkh-ȧset in the House of Neb-ḥepet-Rā,"  . This (unless it is an example of apposition, *Ȧkh-ȧset* being synonymous with "the House of Neb-ḥepet-Rā") makes the temple within Ȧkh-ȧset, not Ȧkh-ȧset itself. But that the word *Ȧkh-ȧsut* (written later *Ȧkh-ȧset*) originally designated not a place but a building would seem to be shown by its determinatives and : it is on the stelae not determined by , though it is sometimes determined by alone. We should ordinarily suppose that the original *Ȧkh-ȧsut* was then a building at Deir el-Bahari, the name of which was afterwards, when the stelae mentioned above were inscribed,

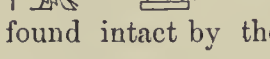
[1] Mariette, *Cat. Abydos*, No. 605.

used for the whole neighbourhood, and included "Zesret."[1] This building was the tomb and chapel of king Neb-ḥepet-Rā which is called *Ȧkh-ȧsut* on the stelé of Tetu, and is stated in the Abbott Papyrus to have been situated at Deir el-Bahari. And the chapel of king Neb-ḥepet-Rā at Deir el-Bahari is the temple which we have discovered. This, therefore, is the original *Ȧkh-ȧsut*. Ȧkh-ȧsut was, until the middle of the XVIIIth Dynasty, when the series of great funerary temples on the western bank was commenced, one of the most important sanctuaries of Thebes. In the reign of Thothmes I. it ranked not far below the temple of Luxor. This we see from the inscription of Ȧnnȧ in his tomb at Shêkh 'Abd el-Ḳûrna.[2] Ȧnnȧ was commissioned to supervise, among other matters connected with the temples, the weighing out of the monthly rations of incense to the various Theban sanctuaries, which he mentions in the following order: the "houses" of Amen, Mut, Khensu and Ptaḥ (Karnak), an erased name, *Ȧpet-reset* (Luxor), *Men ȧsut*,  , *Ȧkh-ȧsut*  , and *Ḥer-ḥer-Ȧmen*,

[1] In favour of this view may be quoted several names of royal tombs under the Old Kingdom, *Uab-ȧsut* of Userkaf, *Men-ȧsut* of Ne-user-Rā, *Neter-ȧsut* of Menkauhor, *Nefer-ȧsut* of Unas, and *Dad-ȧsut* of Teta. But the converse view, that the temple and tomb took their name from the place Ȧkh-ȧsut, has several arguments in its favour. The may be the "seats" of the dead and so the necropolis generally, in all these cases quoted; and  , or  , may mean simply "the Pyramid of Ȧkh-ȧsut cemetery," or "of Men-ȧsut cemetery." In this case the determinative might be explicable as referring to the necropolis generally, not to a particular building. The use of the determinative might be quoted in support of this explanation. On this view the necropolis of Deir el-Bahari was always called *Ȧkh-ȧsut*, and Neb-ḥepet-Rā's tomb bears the name of "Akh-ȧsut Pyramid" because it was situated in the Ȧkh-ȧsut cemetery. This is the view which M. Naville would, on the whole, be inclined to prefer.

[2] Sethe, *Urkunden der 18ten Dynastie*, i. p. 71. I owe this reference to the kindness of Prof. Sethe.

. Of the Theban *Men-ȧsut* we know nothing, except from this inscription. It was probably the funerary temple of a king of the XIth Dynasty who preceded the builder of Ȧkh-ȧsut, and may yet be discovered somewhere in the neighbourhood of Deir el-Bahari or Dra' Abu 'l-Negga.

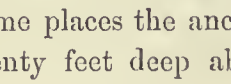
From the form of the name ending in , *ȧsut*, we might well suppose that both Ȧkh-ȧsut and Men-ȧsut were pyramids; the older royal tombs with names ending in *ȧsut*, quoted in the note below, were all pyramids. Now on both the inscription of Tetu and in the Abbott Papyrus the tomb of Neb-ḥepet-Rā, which, as we have seen, must have been close to its chapel, is determined by the sign . Therefore either the king was buried here in a pyramid in regular form, or in a long rock-cut gallery-tomb, the pyramid itself being but a part of the funerary temple. In the midst of Ȧkh-ȧsut we have discovered what seems to be the base of the pyramid. There is no tomb in or under it. Therefore it seems evident that the *mer*,  , of Neb-ḥepet-Rā I., which was found intact by the Ramesside inspectors, was a rock-cut tomb, with the pyramidal chapel *Ȧkh-ȧsut* close by. This is the building which we have discovered.

To guard against possible misapprehension, the fact must be emphasized that the discovery is an entirely new one. A block bearing the name of Neb-ḥepet-Rā I. was found by Mariette in the course of his investigations of the site,[3] and he evidently had seen fragments of columns of the temple also, loose in the rubbish, from which he deduced the fact that a "small" temple of the XIth Dynasty had existed here.[4] But it is quite certain that he did not

[3] Mariette, *Deir el-Bahari*, p. 5.

[4] "Est-ce-qu'à Deir el-Bahari n'existe pas un petit temple de l'XIe Dynastie qui, il y a quelques années, montrait encore aux voyageurs ses colonnes de grès

find any part of the actual temple, nor did he know precisely where it was. He speaks of it as "small," which it would not be considered to be anywhere but at Thebes, and describes its columns erroneously as "hexagonal" (they are octagonal). It is possible that the fragments he had noted were the actual scraps (including a single base), which until the present excavations were lying on the rubbish near the mouth of a tomb (No. 15 ; see p. 52), in the south-west angle of the cliffs,[1] which is said to have been excavated by the late Lord Dufferin many years ago. These fragments were no doubt found some years before Mariette wrote the passage referring to the "hexagonal" columns.[2] To judge from his words (quoted below in the footnote), Mariette evidently supposed that it had not been long since the actual temple had been visible to travellers. No doubt he thought it had been covered up in modern times. It is, however, certain that the precise site, size, and nature of the temple were entirely unknown until the discovery of 1903, as the whole of its floor was found to be covered by ancient *débris*, and in no place by modern tip-rubbish only. And the ancient *débris* has certainly not been disturbed for a very long time, probably not since the Ramesside period. In some places the ancient rubbish lay fifteen to twenty feet deep above the pavement level, and in no case did the highest pillars remaining, which are six to eight feet high, project above it. In this rubbish were found, besides "pockets" of scarabs and fragments of blue pottery of the XVIIIth Dynasty, baskets, tools, and pottery which cannot be of later date than the Ramesside period. It is therefore evident that the pavement level cannot have been seen since the Ramesside period, at least, and that no part of the temple was discovered before the present excavations. Lord Dufferin came very near finding it when he dug for tombs in the south-west corner of the cliff-face ; and it is probable, as has already been said, that fragments of its columns were found by him loose in the rubbish, but it does not appear that he actually uncovered any part of the building that is *in situ*. The temple is therefore an entirely new discovery.

We must not omit to note that in 1881 M. Maspero found in the Dra' Abu 'l-Negga, not far off, an architrave bearing Mentuhetep's name, with remains which he took to be those of this king's pyramid, *Ȧkh-ȧsut*, or, as he preferred to vocalize the name, "Khou-isiou."[3] The pyramid is, however, in the Abbott Papyrus distinctly stated to have been situated in Zesret or Tjesret ( , *nti m Zesret*), and Zesret is certainly Deir el-Bahari, not the Dra' Abu 'l-Negga. Also we shall see that the most remarkable feature of the newly discovered temple is a square erection which is very probably the base of a pyramid, presumably the royal pyramid mentioned in the Abbott Papyrus, It therefore seems most probable that the architrave found by M. Maspero in the Dra' Abu 'l-Negga had been brought at some later time from the king's temple at Deir el-Bahari, and that the building near by was not *Ȧkh-ȧsut*.

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sexagonales ?" (*Revue Politique et Littéraire*, 1879, p. 560.) We are indebted for this reference to M. Capart.

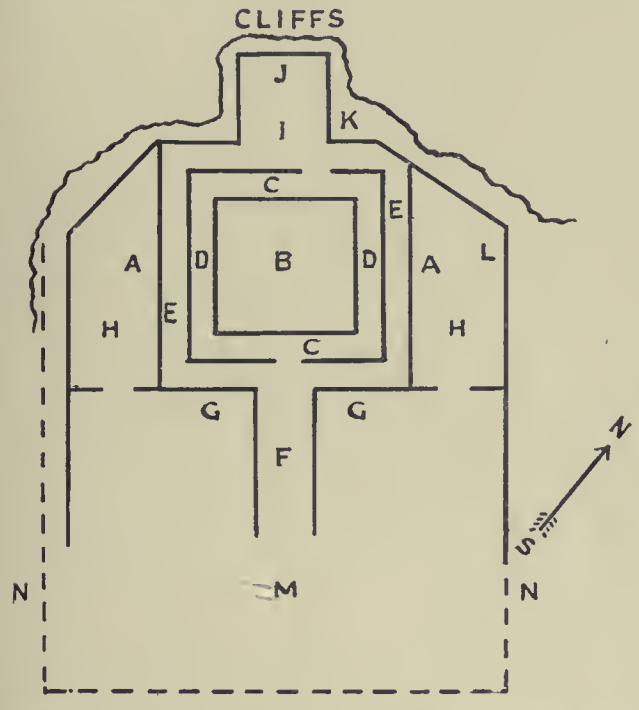
[1] *Arch. Report*, 1903-4, p. 7. Mariette says he found the "stones" of the "edifice" of "Rā-neb-kher," "tout au fond du cirque et vers l'angle sud-ouest" (*Deir el-Bahari*, loc. cit.). This is the position of the fragments mentioned. It is evident that he had no inkling that the temple really filled up the whole of the remaining space in the "cirque," and judged too hastily that it was "aujourd'hui ruiné de fond en comble."

[2] Other sporadic fragments from the temple seem to have been found occasionally of late years. Last year I noted a piece of coloured relief in the Vienna Museum which certainly belongs to it ; but whether this is the product of some chance pitting by a native on the spot, or was found in some other place to which it had been removed in ancient times, is uncertain.

[3] *Hist. Anc. des Peuples de l'Orient Classique*, i. (*Les Origines*), p. 462, n. 4. "J'en ai retrouvé les restes à "Drah abou 'l-Neggah en 1881, ainsi qu'une architrave "aux cartouches de Mouthotpou et provenant de la "chapelle funéraire."

In order to make the account of the excavation more intelligible, it seems best to preface it with a short description of the temple, which will give a general idea of its plan, appearance, and chief peculiarities.

On a rectangular platform (AA on the annexed sketch-plan, which is not to scale), artificially cut out of the rock, stands the square base of the pyramid (B), round which is a colonnade or ambulatory (CC). Outside the outer wall of this (DD), which was covered with reliefs, was another colonnade (EE), which has partially disappeared. The platform was approached by



a ramp (F), in the centre of the eastern side, which was flanked by colonnades on the lower level (GG). On the N. and S. sides of the platform were open courts (HH), their floors level with those of the eastern colonnades. At the western end the platform was narrowed into a colonnaded court beneath the cliffs. In it is the descending dromos (I) of the royal cenotaph, or great tomb-like sanctuary of the royal *ka*. Behind this, at the base of the cliffs, is a transverse hypostyle hall (J : not to scale ; actually much longer in proportion to the pyramid), with a small sanctuary or *cella*. Between the tomb-sanctuary and the pyramid were the chapels and graves of the priestesses of Hathor who were buried in the temple. To the north of these was the XVIIIth Dynasty shrine of Hathor (now removed to Cairo), and its forehall (K), discovered in 1906. (The position of the larger shrine of Hathor, in the Great Temple, which was excavated by Mariette many years ago, is indicated by the letter L.) The whole building was surrounded by a temenos boundary ; a high wall of limestone flanked it for a considerable distance on the north and south sides (the northern wall used to be regarded as the southernmost wall of the XVIIIth Dynasty temple). The rectangular court (M) was completed by a low brick wall (NN). With this sketch-plan should be compared the detailed plan on Plate ii., and the general views on Plates iv., vi. and vii.

2. The Site.

The Great Temple of Queen Hatshepsu at Deir el-Bahari, as it stands to-day, with its ramps, terraces and courts cleared of the rubbish which had accumulated over them during the course of ages, and with its famous historical reliefs conserved and protected from further damage, is and will remain a monument of the work of the Egypt Exploration Fund.

And now another temple has been added to the first. The present-day visitor to Deir el-Bahari sees beneath the shadow of the great cliffs of the Theban hills two temples standing side by side ; to the north the splendid terraces of Hatshepsu's fame, to the south a smaller, much more ruined building. This is the newly discovered funerary temple of King Mentuḥetep Neb-ḥepet-Rā, which has been brought to light by the renewed excavations carried on by the Fund during the last three seasons. The new temple is by no means so conspicuous as its fellow : it lies lower, it has no great colonnaded terraces, no high trilithon gate, to attract the eye ; in fact it seems overshadowed and almost overborne by the grandeur of its great neigh-

bour, which rears itself up against the cliffs in its ascent to the cave-shrines of the gods, high above the modest emplacement of the temple of Mentuḥetep. And this is so in fact as well as in appearance, for the architects of Hatshepsu, in order to find room to carry out their plan, were obliged to raise part of the later temple over the northern portion of the temenos of Mentuḥetep: the temenos-wall disappears beneath the heavy mass of the XVIIIth Dynasty Hathor-terrace which was reared above it. The actual building of the XIth Dynasty temple was encroached upon only at its north-west corner, where a small forehall was built above the XIth Dynasty level as an approach to the second, smaller, shrine of Hathor, which, with its splendid image of the goddess, was discovered during the season of 1905-6. This explains why Hatshepsu's architects, instead of building in the exact centre of the theatre of Deir el-Bahari, placed the new temple up against the northern slope of the cliffs, leaving the great space to the south which had seemed unoccupied until the work of 1903-4. We now see that they were compelled to do this by the presence, which we moderns had hardly suspected, of the older temple at Deir el-Bahari. This temple, the newly-discovered one, certainly existed side by side with the temple of Hatshepsu throughout the XVIIIth Dynasty, and did not fall into ruin until the Ramesside period or later. Votive stelae and figures of personages of the XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasties were dedicated in it; one of the pillars by the eastern entrance, another in the western colonnade, and the wall of the *cella* at the western end bear records of restoration by Rameses II.; Siptah is represented with the Chancellor Bai on one of the walls, and the relief-slabs of the main hall as well as the pillars of the North Colonnade are covered with Ramesside graffiti, both written and incised (Pl. viii. 6).

Many fine tombs of the XIth Dynasty were covered up by the building of Hatshepsu's temple. Some of them have been discovered beneath it, notably a finely painted sepulchre, the passage of which runs diagonally from north to south beneath the central court. In the long passage-way between the south retaining-wall of the central court (with the beautiful relief panels surmounted by hawks), and the north temenos-wall of the XIth Dynasty temple, is a tomb which descends beneath the XVIIIth Dynasty wall. Further, in the court immediately south of the Hathor-terrace, XIth Dynasty tombs were found in the course of the excavations of 1896, notably the fine burial of Buau-Mentuḥetep (see p. 44). These last were never covered up by the XVIIIth Dynasty builders, and it seemed probable that in the large unexplored space between the Hathor-terrace and the southern horn of the semicircle of cliffs which encloses the site, many further tombs of the XIth Dynasty might be discovered, if excavations were made there. Also, since blocks inscribed with the name of king Mentuḥetep Neb-ḥepet-Rā had been found in former years near the great temple both by Mariette and by MM. Maspero and Brugsch-Bey, it seemed probable that the temple to which they belonged, which ought to be at Deir el-Bahari, or in its immediate neighbourhood, might also lie within this untouched area of the cliff-circus.

It was with the object of clearing the XIth Dynasty necropolis and ascertaining whether any traces of a building of King Mentuḥetep remained in the unexplored tract that the present excavations were undertaken. Both objects have been attained, but the tombs have proved less important, the temple more important, than was expected. Omitting the cenotaph or *ka*-sanctuary, fourteen previously unknown tombs have been found and opened, but of the fourteen none, though several have yielded fine objects, has been found untouched by ancient spoilers. The temple of King Mentuḥetep, however, has turned out to be a most remarkable building, of a size and importance

totally unlooked-for. In size it cannot compare with the great temple of the XVIIIth Dynasty, but it is very much larger than was anticipated. In importance also it does not seem to the lay observer to compare with Hatshepsu's temple, but in spite of its *comparatively* bad preservation, Mentuḥetep's building is from the scientific point of view fully as important as that of Hatshepsu. Not only is it the most ancient temple at Thebes, but it is also the only temple of the Middle Kingdom which exists in anything like good preservation. It is not merely the foundations of it that remain, the ground plan only that can be traced: its actual pavements and the pillars of its colonnades are to a great extent *in situ*, and so far from being disappointed that it is in so ruined a condition, we may congratulate ourselves that it is in so perfect a state as it is. In fact it is a matter for wonder, considering its age, and the fine stone of which it is made, that so much of it remains. Temples have served as quarries from the days of Rameses II. till now, and Mentuḥetep's was no exception to the rule. For a temple of the Middle Kingdom, therefore, it is in wonderfully good preservation, and gives us a previously unhoped-for illustration of the funerary buildings of that age. Architecturally, as will be seen, it is of a type not known elsewhere. In fact, from the architectural point of view it is even more peculiar than the temple of Hatshepsu. And it has also told us much that was not known before with regard to the art of the period when it was built. The fragments of the reliefs which decorated its walls and have been found in its *débris* are in many cases of a style previously unknown, which gives us a new idea of the art of the XIth Dynasty.

Before proceeding to describe the actual progress of the excavations, it may be well to give some idea of the nature of the site and of the rubbish which had to be removed.

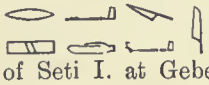
The tract explored lies between the temple of Hatshepsu and the southern base of the semi-circle of cliffs which encloses the site. This tract was covered with confused mounds of rubbish, like those which were cleared away from the great temple in the course of the former excavations of 1893-1899. Visitors who have not been to Deir el-Bahari since the present work has been in progress will remember having seen these mounds from the terrace of the Hathor-shrine. All have now disappeared, and in their place stands the four-square platform and pyramid-base of Mentuḥetep, with its walls of splendid masonry, its ruined colonnades, and its central ramp of access on the eastern side. The rubbish which covered this fine building has nearly all been carried away by means of the Décauville railway kindly lent to the excavation by the *Service des Antiquités*, and deposited near the mouth of the wadi between the cliffs and the hill of Shêkh ʿAbd el-Ḳûrna, in a position where it covers nothing ancient, and will not again have to be disturbed.

The character of the ancient rubbish tells us much of the later history of the temple. The actual surface of the pavement-level, or rock, was generally covered with stone chips, actual *débris* of the temple-building, in which were found the fragments of reliefs and the statues dedicated in the temple. All these were found broken and smashed, lying in and over the smaller chips, and thrust up against columns, which themselves were always broken and in many cases overthrown. Great slabs of the roof, painted blue with the usual yellow stars, had fallen between pillars and on top of one another, and needed careful work with the crowbar to disengage them. Everywhere everything was buried in the stone chips, innumerable small fragments, of which hundreds, belonging originally to the outer faces of walls, were "maktûb," either inscribed with a hieroglyph or carved with a bit of brightly coloured relief. These bits often measured not more than two or three inches across, and all belonged to large-scale reliefs. It seems almost impossible that

the scenes to which they belonged can ever be reconstituted properly. Everywhere the scene is one of wholesale and wilful destruction; and we have proof that this destruction was wilful in the state of the columns, many of which bear the lines of drill-holes along which they were to be split, while others have evidently been actually split asunder in order to make use of the stone. (See the photograph Pl. viii. 7, which shows the drill-holes on one of the best-preserved columns.)

Up to the end of the XIXth Dynasty the temple was still regarded as holy (see p. 24). But after that time it was handed over to the quarriers, who worked their will unchecked upon the fine sandstone pillars and limestone walls, regardless of the art with which they had been adorned a thousand years before, and sparing neither beautiful relief nor historical inscription. Hence this wholesale destruction, which was luckily arrested before the temple was utterly obliterated, leaving just enough to tell us what it had been.[1] In the rubbish left by the quarriers we found the tools of their destruction lost or left behind them: a copper chisel, innumerable wooden mallets, some new and unused, others worn away and cast aside as useless, wooden wedges, levers, and hoes, and large baskets, besides other odds and ends.[2] It was not till the time of the XXIst Dynasty, when Deir el-Bahari began to be used again as a necropolis, that the work of destruction stopped.[3] Then the site of the temple was utilized for burials, and secondary interments were made in the XIth Dynasty tombs, which had already been broken into and violated. Most of the tombs contained these later burials, all of about the time of the XXIst Dynasty. The burial of the official Userkhārā-nekht in Tomb 4 (p. 45) is an instance. Later burials of the poorest took place in the rubbish which was now accumulating above the ruined fame. Bodies were thrust anyhow into crevices of the walls. Pots containing packages of entrails (?), or even simply bags of natron, found in the rubbish are perhaps relics of the embalmers, who did their work here as elsewhere amid the Memnonia.[4] The demotic *ostraka* found at the eastern end of the temple precinct point to some occupation in late times; but the repairs of the Ptolemies to the temple of Hatshepsu, in honour of the deified sages Imouthes and Amenothes, son of Paapis, were not extended to the XIth Dynasty temple, which in their time had long since disappeared from view under mounds of rubbish, which hid it till three years ago. Finally, the monks of the monastery of St. Phoebammon, established on the ruins of Hatshepsu's temple, used the waste space to the south as a dust-heap, and in the course of our work we found many objects, especially *ostraka* of the VIIth century A.D., which were thrown away by them. When the monastery was abandoned, Deir el-Bahari ceased to be inhabited, and was left to the owl and the jackal.

[1] It would almost look as if at one time, perhaps before it was definitely handed over to the quarriers, the whole temple had been razed or cut down to a certain level, about nine or ten feet above the pavement. This is possible, as none of the pillars are now more than seven feet in height, and the pyramid-base is nine or ten feet high all over. But this operation cannot have had any connection with the addition of the forehall of the XVIIIth Dynasty Hathor-shrine (p. 37), as this is only three feet above the XIth Dynasty pavement. The idea was not to level the whole building down to this. Under the XIXth Dynasty the temple was still used, and the Hathor-shrine was approached from the XIth Dynasty level (see p. 36).

[2] The destruction of an old temple by the workmen  , "to quarry stone" (inscr. of Seti I. at Gebelên), was quite an usual proceeding. The *šadu* of the temple of king Menkauhor's pyramid, *Neter-âsu*, formally forbidden by the later king Pepi Merira. Apparently the *šadu* of Âkh-âsut was not forbidden, and continued till the place was needed as a cemetery.

[3] This gives the date of these tools, baskets, etc., as between the end of the XIXth and beginning of the XXIst Dynasty.

[4] Cf. NAVILLE, *Deir el-Bahari*, ii. p. 6.

In the stone *débris* (but always close to the pavement) are found "pockets" of small rubbish, containing the remains of votive offerings dedicated by the ancient *fellaḥîn* to the goddess Hathor of Deir el-Bahari. At the western end of the platform, in the (North) Court between the two temples and in the Northern Lower Colonnade was found a regular stratum of this rubbish, full of little broken votive offerings, nearly all of which are demonstrably of XVIIIth Dynasty date, and belong to no other period. They consist of small cows (the sacred animal of the goddess) and female figures in earthenware and blue glazed fayence, votive eyes and ears (for the cure of blindness and deafness) of bronze and fayence, small bronze plaques with roughly-incised cows on them, broken blue vases and bowls with representations of the holy cow emblazoned with stars and with spiral and lily patterns, &c., scarabs and beads, many on their original strings, and other small objects of the same kind. These votive offerings (which will be described later) were undoubtedly originally devoted in the Hathor-shrines, and when these became too full were thrown down by the sacristans into the space between the two temples, which thus became a dust-heap, and on to the pavement of the XIth Dynasty temple. The layer of this dust at the western end of the latter was never cleared away (although the columns and walls of that part of the building bear records of the restorations of Rameses II. and the devotion of Siptah under the XIXth Dynasty), and when discovered was about two feet deep.

The stratification of the rubbish in the North Court is interesting. The layer containing the votive offerings did not lie immediately upon the rock floor of the court; there was a layer of small chip rubbish between them, which is to be attributed to the operations of building the temple of Hatshepsu. This layer filled up and covered the shafts of one or two XIth Dynasty tombs in the court, and in it were found broken vases of Middle Kingdom style (Pl. x., figs. 6, 7), and remains of the funerary furniture of these tombs: little wooden men from the boats and granaries which were always buried with the dead at that time, and other XIth Dynasty objects, besides stray scarabs of the XVIIIth Dynasty. It is evident that the XIth Dynasty tombs were violated without scruple by Hatshepsu's builders. Only one or two, among them that of Buau-Mentuhetep, already mentioned,[1] escaped total desecration, merely because no more of the stone was wanted; and from this tomb the mummy had been stolen, though the coffin, boats, etc., were perfect.

Above this chip-rubbish was the dust-heap layer, and over this the main stratum of temple *débris*, which elsewhere in the temple lay directly on the pavement or rock level, whenever a layer of dust did not intervene. In the *débris* were found, besides pillars and blocks of the XIth Dynasty temple, several fragments of cornices, inscribed architraves and sixteen-sided pillars of sandstone, bearing the cartouche of Thothmes III., which evidently belonged to an outlying building of the Great Temple above the Hathor-shrine, and had rolled down on to the older structure.

All over the temple, this *débris* was covered by an upper layer of wind-blown dust. When the baneful quarrying work ceased the site seems to have been left desolate, and the fine dust blown by the wind gradually in the course of centuries covered up the remains of the temple with a deep stratum of what may be called sand (though this is not technically a correct designation) several feet in thickness, which follows generally the contour of the remains beneath, forming deep drifts and pockets here and there, where the heaps of *débris* were low. In this were found the poor burials of late date, which have already been mentioned. Some of these, to judge by rough ushabtis, were of the XXXth

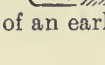
See also p. 44.

Dynasty, others probably Ptolemaic or Roman. In the North Court was found in this dust layer a second rubbish-heap, a Coptic one this time. It was the dust-heap, already mentioned, of the monastery of St. Phoebammon, which in the VIIth century A.D. existed amid the ruins of the Great Temple (see p. 16, above). The tower of this monastery, which was formerly a conspicuous object at Deir el-Bahari, was removed during the previous excavations. This dust-heap yielded, besides a large number of Coptic ostraka, which will be described in a succeeding volume, various odds and ends, including a fragment of an alabaster Canopic jar of the Saite period, on which some monk had, a thousand years after it was made, drawn the figure of an angel. In one place at the back of the temple water evidently had lain for a considerable period, as the dust-layer was there coagulated to an unusual density and hardness, and the action of the water upon it was clearly visible. Above this was the desert surface, yellow where it had long lain undisturbed, upon which were the dump-heaps of modern explorers.

Pl. viii., fig. 5, shows the nature of the rubbish overlying the temple. The columns on the left are those of the south side of the court at the west end of the temple. In the centre beyond the columns we see the mass of confused stone *débris*, consisting simply of actual blocks and chips of the smashed stonework of the temple, which covers the whole site. To the left of this is the rock face turning inward and forming the beginning of the court at the foot of the cliffs behind. Between the rock face and the stone *débris* is a "pocket" of the compact wind-blown dust, lying where it drifted up against the rock. Above this and the *débris* to the right is a stratum of the water-coagulated wind-blown dust. Above this is the layer of modern rubbish shown in the photograph being cleared off the top of the ancient water-hardened dust.

As the object of the work was to clear the whole site thoroughly, it was necessary to work down to the level of the rock, which at Deir el-Bahari is the natural surface, until tombs or pavements were reached: if the latter, to follow their level till the precise nature of the building reached had been ascertained. When the temple was found it was seen that its pavement was laid directly upon the rock, except in one or two places, such as the south-eastern corner of the platform (see p. 27). The rock-surface had, indeed, been artificially planed and squared in order to lay the pavement upon it. When therefore the pavement was found to be non-existent, it was necessary only to follow the rock-level in order to take it up again further on. This considerably simplified operations, as there was no need to remove pavements in order to investigate what there might be of earlier date beneath; the XIth Dynasty temple is the oldest at Deir el-Bahari.[1] And in one place only was there found any trace of a later building built over the XIth Dynasty level: this was at the north-west corner, where the XVIIIth Dynasty forehall of the smaller Hathor-shrine came to light, at a level about 3 ft. higher than that of the XIth Dynasty.

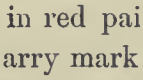
The progress of the excavations may be traced by a comparison of Pl. vi., fig. 1, with fig. 2. These two photographs show the two temples side by side from the same point, high up on the *ghafir's* path to the Bîbân-el-Mulûk, in December, 1904, and December, 1905, respectively. In the foreground of both we see the Great Temple, with its colonnades, the trilithon gate leading to the Upper Court, and the entrance to the cave-shrine at the foot of the cliff. Beyond this, where in December, 1903, was but a tumbled waste of rubbish, we see in fig. 1 (Dec.

[1] No re-used blocks of former kings were found. That bearing the name of Dudumes (p. 3) must be, like those of Sekhā-n-Rā Mentuḥetep (*ibid.*), of XIth Dynasty date, if they are not XIIIth. A fragment of a cartouche of a king  , also found, is evidently of Usertsen III., not of an earlier monarch.

1904) the XIth Dynasty temple emerging from chaos, and taking form and shape as we see it in fig. 2 (Dec. 1905), with its symmetrical platform, ramp, and square pyramid-base. Fig. 3 shows it seen in bird's-eye view from the top of the cliffs, 400 feet above it. This gives a good idea of the plan (Pl. ii.).

3. The Excavation: The XVIIIth Dynasty Ramp and the North Court.

Work was commenced on the 5th of November, 1903, by starting to clear the first low rubbish-heaps at a distance of only a few paces west of the house which had been built for the expedition of ten years before, and south of the lowest colonnade of the Great Temple. The first discovery, soon made, was that of the wall of an inclined plane or ramp, 30 ft. long, running parallel with the outer wall of the second court of the Great Temple, at a distance of about 50 ft. from it. The stonework is the same as that of the Great Temple, and is evidently contemporary with it. This ramp-wall ended abruptly in a confused mass of blocks, but not before it had become evident that the inclined plane of the ramp was no longer followed, and that the building had originally been intended to be continued in a horizontal line (Pl. vi., fig. 5). The mass of heavy white blocks soon ends, and all that appears is the core of fragments of *tafl* (the greenish brown argillaceous shale that underlies the limestone here), which runs on almost up to the colonnade of the XIth Dynasty temple. On the south side (excavated April, 1907) only the core is visible, the facing-wall having disappeared.

It is difficult to make any definite statement as to the purpose of this erection. At first it was thought to be a great altar-platform. The stones belonging to it, as well as others found in the rubbish above the western portion of the temple, bore mostly the signs  , "Beautiful of Years," roughly traced on them in red paint. These signs, which are either a quarry mark or designate the building or particular part of a building for which the stones were intended,[1] form part of the titles of Thothmes I.

Beyond this building we struck directly west into the mounds of *débris*, clearing away the loose rubbish down to the rock-surface. About 100 ft. further west, a small simple squared grave (Tomb No. 1) was found, a *saḥrîḳ* as the Ḳûrnâwis call it, which had been entirely disturbed, but contained scanty remains of XIth Dynasty tomb furniture, belonging either to it or to some other tomb close by (see p. 43). Then, immediately to the south, appeared the remains of a wall (Pl. vii., fig. 7), opposite to the small wall which may be seen in the plan of the Great Temple published in the *Archaeological Report* for 1894-5, projecting southwards from the southern enclosure wall. We saw that the new wall we had unearthed was its continuation southwards. The central portion had been entirely destroyed. The western face of this wall was cleared until the workmen were brought up short by another wall running west at right angles to the first, and roughly parallel with the great wall of Hatshepsu's Hathor-terrace, which lies about 60 ft. to the north. This wall (Pl. vii., fig. 7) differed entirely from the first and from any other building hitherto discovered at Deir el-Bahari. Its blocks (cf. Pl. viii., fig. 1, and Pl. iv.) are much larger than those of the first wall or any of the wall-blocks of the Great Temple, some measuring 6 ft. by 3 ft. 6 in. They are also much more finely jointed, and are laid in regular courses of deep and shallow blocks alternately, with a very thin and light bonding of mortar or clay. The sandstone base of the wall (of blocks 5 ft. across and 1 ft. high) is much more massive and generally finer than the

[1] *Cf.* the incised "Double axes" and other signs on the stones of the various chambers of the Palace of Knossos (Hall, "The Two Labyrinths," *Journ. Hell. Stud.*, xxv., p. 326). The blocks of the XIth Dynasty south cross-wall bear the signs , "House of the *Ka*" (see p. 37).

similar bases of the XVIIIth Dynasty walls. These base-blocks are also of better stone than the later ones, being of a hard blue-grey sandstone, while those of the XVIIIth Dynasty walls are of soft yellow sandstone from Silsila (Pl. viii., fig. 2).

The nearest parallel to this splendid stonework seemed to be the XIIth Dynasty mastaba-walls at Dahshur, and it was evident that we had discovered at Deir el-Bahari buildings of the Middle Kingdom *in situ*. This diagnosis was not at first extended to the smaller transverse wall first discovered (Pl. vii., fig. 7). Its outer blocks, though regularly laid, are much smaller than those of the great wall, measuring only a few inches each way, and resembling bricks. The southernmost wall of the Great Temple, which this walls joins, is built in the same way. Both walls were at first considered to be of the XVIIIth Dynasty. This conclusion seemed to be borne out by the fact that the smaller wall was built up against the face of the greater with a straight joint: the latter had then been completed first. But it was pointed out by Mr. Peers that at the same time the face of the greater and certainly Middle Kingdom wall had been dressed down after the building of the smaller wall[1]: at the point of junction the surface of the former is perhaps a centimetre higher than elsewhere. He was therefore of opinion that we should eventually find that the smaller wall, though differing in style from the larger, was equally of Middle Kingdom date. This opinion has been abundantly justified: for in the seasons of 1904-6 we discovered on the further side of the temple an exactly similar wall limiting a southern court corresponding to the northern one, and what was more, a wall of similar style running at right angles to it towards the east, and evidently the original temenos-wall of the temple. The other wall on the north side, which the northern transverse wall joins in the same way as the southern transverse wall joins the southern temenos-wall, is evidently in reality not the southernmost boundary-wall of the XVIIIth Dynasty temple, as it had hitherto been considered to be, but the northern temenos-wall of that of the XIth Dynasty. The northern temenos-wall had some sloping courses of stone, with a coping on top of them, added by Hatshepsu or Thothmes III., following the course of the sloping ascent which at one time filled up the passage between the retaining wall of the central court (the wall with the hawk-panels) and the outer (XIth Dynasty) one. The line of demarcation between the regular courses of the XIth Dynasty work and the rougher blocks of the XVIIIth Dynasty is very clear. (See illustration in the *Archaeological Report* for 1905-6, Pl. ii., fig. 6).

The space, 60 ft. broad, bounded on the east by the north transverse wall, on the north by the Hathor-terrace, and on the south by the newly discovered XIth Dynasty wall of great blocks, is known as the North Lower Court. It was originally larger than it is now, as the Hathor-terrace was built over part of it. In it we found first a small chamber of brick, measuring 6 ft. by 5 ft., built on the rock-surface, and with a plaster flooring. This flooring was broken, and over it and partly beneath it were found fragments of wooden statuettes of servants carrying baskets (like those discovered later, and described on p. 46), which had come from rifled XIth Dynasty tombs. It was perhaps the hut of a watchman stationed here to guard the tombs in the court. Of these tombs there were several: one or two had been found during the excavations of ten years ago; another (Tomb 2) was found at the western end of the court in the season 1903-4. It had been violated, but the skull of the original occupant was found, with

[1] Though generally so finely dressed, the Middle Kingdom wall is just at this point rougher than usual, and the marks which indicated the depth to which the stone was to be dressed down are still visible unobliterated on many of the blocks.

broken brown ware vases and fragments of his funeral furniture. This was a chamber-tomb of simple form: at the bottom of a shaft 15 ft. deep was a rectangular chamber in which the dead body had been placed with its appurtenances. (See p. 43 and Pl. xi. for plan and section).

The exploration of the great XIth Dynasty wall soon resulted in a surprise. It proved to be a mask to a solid mass of mountain-rock, carefully squared, about 15 ft. in height. At this height the rock ceased, and was found to be artificially squared on the top as well as at the side. Examining the surface of the top, remains of a pavement of heavy slabs of dull grey sandstone were brought to light. It was evident that we had here an artificially prepared platform with the remains of building upon it, probably the XIth Dynasty temple, the existence of which had already been presumed, but the situation and character of which were unknown.

Accordingly our efforts were directed to the clearing of this platform from above and of the facing wall from below, and the latter work included the complete clearance of the court. This work was continued until, after the wall had been uncovered, with its base, for a distance of 120 ft. in a westerly direction, it was brought to an end by the discovery (January 1st, 1904), of a transverse wall (Pl. viii., fig. 1), of the same character as the platform-wall, running off at a remarkably acute angle (Pl. viii., fig. 10;) "like the bows of a boat," *zê waḥid daḥabîya*, as the workmen said, N.-E. to the Hathor-shrine of Hatshepsu's temple, and passing away under it. The platform of the Hathor-shrine had, as has already been mentioned, been built over it. As the exploration proceeded, the platform-wall, after two complete breaks down to the base-blocks, became finer and more perfect until the point of junction with the transverse wall. Here, and for 20 ft. or so on either side of it, both walls are intact, with rounded coping-stones in place (Pl. viii., fig. 10); perfect specimens of the stonework of the Middle Kingdom, far superior to any of the XVIIIth Dynasty work around.

Both walls were set in trenches cut in the rock 18 ins. below the level of the rest of the court. In both cases these trenches were made considerably wider than the walls, in order to give space for the work of the masons. The afterwards unnecessary space was filled up with rubbish to the level of the court.

Behind the transverse wall, which runs under the Hathor-shrine, the sloping rock-face, against which the platform of the shrine is reared, was found, and the court was thus completely cleared. This was not finally effected till January 6th, 1904, as progress had latterly been very slow, owing to the increasing height of the rubbish mounds. At the end the loose *débris* came rolling down incessantly from a height of fifty or sixty feet, far above the Hathor-shrine. Retaining walls of *dâbsh* (fragments of limestone) had to be built above the transverse wall to prevent further falls.

It was during the excavation of this court that the interesting deposit of XVIIIth Dynasty votive offerings and the Coptic dust-heap, already mentioned, were found.

4. The Lower Colonnades and Ramp of the XIth Dynasty Temple.

Simultaneously with the clearing of the top of the rock-platform the eastern face of the XIth Dynasty cross-wall limiting the North Court on the east was cleared. The platform-wall (the XIth Dynasty wall of great blocks) was found to pass behind it eastwards for a few feet, and then to turn abruptly south at a right angle. We had therefore reached the eastern face of the platform. On the following day (December 12th, 1903) a square pillar of grey sandstone, sculptured with the name and titles of a King Mentuḥetep with the hawk-name *Sam-taui*, "Uniter of the Two Lands," was found (Pl. viii., fig. 8, *Archaeological Report*, 1903-4, Pl. ii.,

fig. 3). This was Neb-ḥepet-Rā (or, as his name was then read, Neb-kheru-Rā), the king to whom the blocks previously found by Mariette and Maspero belonged. There was now no doubt that we had reached the XIth Dynasty temple, and that the previous diagnosis of the great walls as being Middle Kingdom work was correct.

The excavation was pushed south with energy. The Ḳûrnâwi diggers were keenly interested in the new "*kenîsa*" (church), as they called it, the existence of which in this spot they had never suspected. The *towâris* plied their *turyas* (hoes) with a will, the basket-boys flew, and the rubbish disappeared like magic. Next day a second column appeared, bearing the name of Neb-ḥepet-Rā (Pl. viii., fig. 8), and before sunset a third, with the Mentuḥetep cartouche, had shown its head amid the rubbish. Simultaneously, companion pillars appeared a few feet east. It was evident that we had a colonnade of two rows of square pillars, with the cartouches Mentuḥetep and Neb-ḥepet-Rā alternating upon them, of the same type as the colonnades of the great temple of Hatshepsu, but on a smaller scale. The facing-wall of the colonnade, masking the rock-platform, had also the same batter or slope as the colonnade facing-walls in the Great Temple. Further, it was sculptured in the same way. Large blocks with portions of a relief depicting a procession of boats (see below, p. 25) were found *in situ*.

Meanwhile, the clearing of the top of the platform had resulted in the discovery of round column-bases of sandstone. A pillar hall had evidently been reached. Then the lower portions of pillars *in situ* came to light. They were octagonal, of the peculiar simple type known as "Proto-Doric,"[1] usual under the Old and Middle Kingdom, and still often used in the time of Hatshepsu and Thothmes III. In the Great Temple of Hatshepsu they are sixteen-sided. Each of the eight-sided columns of the XIth Dynasty temple bears the royal label of Mentuḥetep, like the square pillars of the colonnade.

The use of the simple type of column was another point of resemblance between the two temples; and it now seemed in the highest degree probable that the architects of the Great Temple had been largely inspired by the older building of Neb-ḥepet-Rā, and that we should find in the latter the same arrangement of temple platform approached by an inclined plane or ramp, with a colonnade at each side on the lower level.[2] The ramp was duly reached at the end of January, 1904, but as the work of the first season then came to an end, the labour of clearing it and finding the south colonnade on the further side was postponed till work was recommenced in the ensuing October. Only one block of the facing-wall of the ramp remained in position. The top of this slopes in accordance with the declination of the ramp.

The discovery of the ramp seemed to give the main axis of the temple, supposing that the latter was symmetrical in plan, and that the ramp was situated in the centre of its eastern side. Acting on this supposition, in order to clear the ramp and reach the southern colonnade, if it existed, it was necessary to drive a deep trench through the high *débris* mounds east of the temple up to the south side of the ramp. This was done at the beginning of the second season's work, the ramp was cleared, and the colonnade found, showing that a correct idea of

[1] The term is historically incorrect, as these columns have nothing to do with the Greek Doric order, and is liable to misconstruction.

[2] The architects of Hatshepsu's temple, having to make their building ascend the hillside, copied on a larger scale, and in duplicate, Mentuḥetep's idea of the central ramp flanked by colonnades. The small temple of Aaḥmes I. at Abydos, excavated by Mr. Currelly for the Egypt Exploration Fund, which is also on the side of a hill, was built in terraces, which were, however, approached from the side (*Abydos* iii., pl. liii.).

the nature and extent of the work to be done had been formed, and the proper plan of campaign adopted

The southern colonnade proved to be in far less perfect preservation than the northern, excavated in the previous year. Only four pillars were found to be standing of the original total of twenty-two, whereas in the other sixteen still stand out of twenty-six. The sculptured facing-wall is entirely destroyed except at the side of the ramp, but, as in the northern colonnade, many fragments of its reliefs were found in the rubbish. These represented chiefly scenes of war and the chase (see below, p. 39). On the wall at the side of the ramp is an incised sketch, about half life-size, of a king pacing with oar and *ḥap* on the occasion of the foundation of the temple (see p. 40). Only the lower part of the body remains, the upper blocks with the rest of the figure having been quarried away. This sketch is probably of Ramesside date.

The north colonnade (Pl. iii. 2; vii. 4) originally consisted of two rows each of thirteen columns, while the south colonnade had in each of its two rows eleven columns. This discrepancy is due to the width of the platform on the south side of the pyramid being less than on the northern. In the northern colonnade the row nearest the platform is complete but for column No. 13 (counting from the ramp) at the N. entrance of the colonnade, of which only the base-slab remains. Of the other row only four (Nos. 7, 8, 9, 12) remain. In the southern colonnade only one column of the row nearest the platform (No. 8) is standing: the other three belong to the further row (Nos. 1, 2, 3, nearest the ramp). The pillars are broken off short at a height of from 4 ft. to 7 ft. above the ground. They were originally 11 ft. or 12 ft. only in height, and are a little over 2 ft. square. The upper part of only one was found: No. 3 of the row nearest the platform in the north colonnade. This has been replaced in position, giving the original height. The roof above the entablature was no doubt, as in Hatshepsu's temple, placed at the level of the pavement of the rock-platform, which is here 15-16 ft. The architrave-blocks measured usually 21 in. thick by 19 in. high. Only fragments of them remain. The pillars of the colonnade, and the octagonal pillars on the platform above, which are on the same scale, were made not of the fine white limestone which was used for the facing walls and sculptured blocks of the temple and for the similar columns of Hatshepsu, but of a grey-brown sandstone (sometimes almost blue in tint) which seems to have been specially affected by Mentuḥetep Neb-ḥepet-Rā: Prof. Petrie found it used in the work of this king at Abydos.[1] At Deir el-Bahari these sandstone columns are covered with a white colour-wash; the hieroglyphs are coloured yellow in the outer row of the colonnade, and blue in the inner row. The inscriptions of the northern colonnade are the same on each pillar, with the exception that the cartouches alternate; while, on all, the cartouches are accompanied by the name and emblem of the goddess of Lower Egypt, Uazit. The royal labels read (1) "May

the Lord of the Two Lands, King Neb-ḥepet-Rā, Horus of the North Sam-taui, whom Uazit of the North loveth, live like Rā for ever!" (2) "May the Lord of the two Lands Son of the Sun Mentuḥetep, Horus of the North Sam-taui,

[1] Slab, Brit. Mus., No. 628; *Abydos* ii., p. 33; pl. xxiv.

whom Uazit of the North loveth, live like Rā for ever!"

At some time, the name of Uazit was hammered out, and then reinserted. This alteration may have been made at the time of Akhenâten's crusade against the deities of Egypt: the names will then have been hammered out by him and restored afterwards (possibly by Rameses II.). It must be said, however, that the second cutting is of the same style as the rest of the inscription.

Whether, as seems probable, on the pillars of the southern colonnade the king was said to be beloved of Nekhebet, the goddess of the South, cannot be decided, as the upper parts of the inscriptions, which otherwise were the same as those on the columns of the northern colonnade, are destroyed.

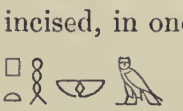
As has been said, most of the pillars of the north colonnade bear incised graffiti and sketches. There are several rude representations of boats, one with a naos on board in which stands an image or mummy. Above this is the hieratic inscription of the scribe Sutkhi or Seti ; below it one of the scribe Userḥat, ,[1] two visitors of the XIXth Dynasty (Pl. viii., fig. 6). On another pillar is a very well-executed bull; on another an uraeus spitting red flame; and on several are roughly-cut figures of men. On one pillar a number of incised circles of perfect form with centre also incised, with varying diameters, show that the Egyptians knew and used the compass. In this colonnade were found a number of slips of limestone (*dâbsh*), on which were artists' and decorators' trial-sketches in red and black: of a royal colossus, of a prince seated with a monkey beneath his throne and a very pretty design for a painted ceiling on the same piece, of a man "breathing the ground before Pharaoh," of a young bullock walking, and so forth. Taken in connection with the good sketches of the bull and the uraeus on the columns, this may show that the colonnade had been used as a sort of school or practice-ground for scribes and artists, very probably for those who were employed in connection with Rameses II.'s restorations in the two temples. The pillars had been re-coloured in later times, after the erasures and replacing of the name of Uazit in the inscriptions and after the scratching of many of the graffiti. Probably the graffiti are of the time of Rameses II.; on many of the reliefs from the platform above are written graffiti dated in his reign. So that the colouring and painting-up generally may, at any rate in this colonnade, have been done by Bai for Siptah, who was much interested in the temple (p. 33). It looks, too, as if attempts had at one time been made to support the roof of the colonnade by square pillars and other erections of brick, some of which still stand. And if Siptah and his vizier Bai had their *proskynêmata* to Hathor inscribed on the walls of the temple and repainted the pillars of this colonnade, it is not impossible that it is to them that the attempt to hold up the falling roof by means of brick piers must be ascribed.

To the existence of one of these brick piers is to be attributed the preservation of the solitary fragment of XIth Dynasty relief sculpture which

[1] A statuette bearing the name Userhat was found in Tomb 12 (p. 51), and in the second season was found part of a fine stela commemorating Userhat, priest of the deceased kings Amenhetep III. and Tutankhamen, with his wife Nefretari, singer of Amen.

is still in its original position in this colonnade. It is immediately behind the brick pier, and so was difficult to get at. It is part of the facing-wall of the platform, which was decorated with reliefs, an idea afterwards copied by the decorators of Hatshepsu's temple. Above a dado of two bands of colour, placed at a height of about 2 ft. from the pavement, is the relief, in low work, of a type entirely different from that of the XVIIIth Dynasty and evidently contemporary with the building of the temple. The wall of this colonnade was decorated with a representation of a procession of boats, prototype of Hatshepsu's representation of her naval expedition to Punt on her colonnade. But these boats of the XIth Dynasty were not meant to be going to Punt: they are small river-boats, sailing upon the waters of the Nile, which are represented in the usual conventional way, by means of blue zigzags. Two of the boats only remain: the larger of the two is a row-boat, manned by a number of men. It is not impossible that this relief originally represented the funeral (or the *ḥeb-sed*) procession of the king, in its solemn transit across the river from Thebes to the western bank. The boats we see are probably two of those following in the train of the royal funeral barge. They are very like the wooden model boats found in the XIth Dynasty tombs both here and elsewhere in Egypt. These models often themselves represent the boats of the funeral procession.

Fragments of other parts of this relief have been found, representing boatmen (Pl. xiv. g), one of whom has a feather on his head (*ib.* a), an Egyptian warrior with a bow, followed by an Egyptian woman holding a child (*ib.* f), part of a procession of foreign captives also, including a person in an enormous red cloak, followed by another leading a child. The style is peculiar, the work being rough and poor, and the surface has a peculiar dirty and rubbed-down appearance, as if it had been exposed to the air for a long period of time. The reliefs of the Southern Colonnade seem to have been covered at an earlier period, for they are much brighter in colour. There also we have, to judge from the few fragments found, representations of boats (Pl. xiv., fig. c), of better style than those of North Colonnade. Other reliefs in this colonnade seem to have depicted hunting-scenes, in which the king is seen chasing antelopes and other desert game (Pl. xvi.); and war-scenes, apparently describing a campaign in Sinai or Southern Palestine, in which the slain *Ämu*, yellow men with pointed beards, are seen lying in confused heaps upon the ground (Pl. xiv. d).

The pavement of the Northern Colonnade is perfectly preserved. It is composed of sandstone blocks of various shapes and sizes fitted in with one another (Pl. iii. 2). The pillars in both colonnades usually rest directly on a square slab, but in some cases the lower portion of the pillar is in one stone with the slab below it. This arrangement is also found at Knossos in Crete.[1] The pavement of the Southern Colonnade is considerably broken, but in one place a stone of it has been preserved which bears the memento of a pilgrim's visit: two outlines of feet, rudely incised, in one of which is the inscription  (*sic*) "the builder Ptaḥemḥeb." Similar outlines of feet occur on the colossal Osiride figure of Amenḥetep I., found close by (see below). The same kind of record is often met with on the pavement of Egyptian temples.

The width of the pavement in both colonnades is 15 ft., the northern colonnade is 95 ft. in length, and the southern 76 ft. The breadth of the ramp between them is 22 ft., and it appears to have been about 80 or 90 ft. long originally, from the entrance of the hall above down to the level of the colonnades below. The excavation of the ramp was very interesting work. It had to be started from above, as we had

[1] *Cf.* Hall, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xxv., pl. 14.

uncovered the top (west) end of it, where it joined the platform, and discovered the granite threshold shortly to be described, at the end of the first season's work. The men therefore worked downwards through the rubbish, keeping to the probable slope of the ramp as indicated by the inclination of the slopes of Hatshepsu's ramps; and we soon had proof that the angle of inclination we were following was the correct one, by the discovery of one of the original planks of sont-wood with which the ramp had been paved, *in situ*, and exactly in the position and slope required. Following the same inclination, a few feet further on and down we came to a second plank, and finally reached the level of the colonnades, which is that of the rock. At the end of the second season's work the ramp was built up again as nearly as possible in its original form.

Near the ramp was found, lying on the colonnade level, an Osiride statue of grey sandstone, originally about 6 ft. high, without a head. Parts of similar figures, wearing not the long cerements of Osiris, but the shorter *ḥeb-sed* costume worn by the king at the time of celebrating the "Festival of the End" (*sed*), had been found by the workmen of the *Service des Antiquités* not very far off, but just outside the limits of our concession, during the summer of 1904. Later on in the second season we found close to the ramp a much larger and finer Osiride figure wearing both crowns, of greyish-white sandstone, with the face, breast, hands, and lower crown painted red, the beard blue, and the rest of the figure white (Pl. xxv., fig. aa). It stands 9 ft. 2 in. in height. On the back is an inscription of king Amenḥetep I. (see p. 60). It is evident that this statue was overthrown at an early period, as on one side of its plinth are cut several outlines of pilgrims' feet (like those of the builder Ptaḥemḥeb on the pavement close by) showing where they had stood when they visited the temple. These were afterwards whitewashed over, so that it is probable that the figure was re-erected, either by Rameses II. or Siptah, and fell again. The head was broken away from the body by this fall, and was found lying close by.

We do not know how these figures were placed: they may have formed an avenue leading up to the ramp. (See the stela with representation of these statues, Pl. xxv., fig. b; p. 60).[1]

The work of 1907 has disclosed two later walls, one of large blocks (of which only the lowest course remains), the other of small rough stones, running at right angles to the temple-ramp, on the north side of it, and joining the unfinished XVIIIth Dynasty ramp mentioned on p. 19.

5. The Platform and the Pyramid-base.

At the head of the ramp is the red granite threshold of the principal doorway of the temple. The doorway was a trilithon of red granite, like that, still existing, of the XVIIIth Dynasty temple. The threshold is composed of three slabs of red granite from Syene (Aswan), sharply cut and finely polished. The whole measures 9 ft. by 5 ft. (large-scale plan, Pl. xi., fig. 1). In the photograph (Pl. vi., fig. 7), we see on either side of the actual entrance, which is 3 ft. wide, the emplacements for the standing blocks of the trilithon, and to the left the socket in which the door-pivot turned and also the side run or channel by which it was originally inserted and could be bodily removed from the socket and replaced. (See also plan on Pl. xi.)

The granite blocks of the threshold rest upon roughly squared blocks of sandstone, beneath which is a stratum of fine yellow sand, which was strewn upon a layer of small limestone rubbish, which rests upon the rock. The rock-surface here begins to fall away from the level of the platform, and in order to preserve the rectangular

[1] The head of an Osiride statue of a king, wearing the white crown only, of the XIth Dynasty blue-grey sandstone painted white, red, and black, was found at the S.-W. end of the temple (see Pl. xiii. g) during the third season. So there were probably *ḥeb-sed* statues of kings at the further end of the temple also.

shape and level of the latter, it was necessary to make up the deficiency of rock with finely packed *dâbsh*. The rock falls away so sharply at the south-east corner that at that point the platform is made up for two-thirds of its height.

Careful search failed to reveal any traces of foundation deposits near the threshold :[1] under the sandstone blocks was found a fragment of peculiar drab pottery, with raised ribs and incised striation (Pl. x., fig. 9).

The east doorway opens into the main portion of the temple, which lies upon the platform. This platform, the nature of which has already been described, is rectangular, and measures 204½ ft. from N. to S. Its axial length at each side is 151 ft. At the W. end its shape is irregular, as here the level had to be made by hewing out the rock, and in the centre a cutting was driven westwards at the level of the platform to the foot of the cliffs behind. The platform is then not an island, but a peninsula, of rock, artificially squared to a symmetrical shape, cut out of the rock at the western end, and made up with packed rubbish at the eastern end, where the rock, declining to the plain, failed to reach the requisite height. The excavations of the first season already showed this, and also told us the greater part of what we know as to the nature of the building upon the platform, although only the north-east corner of it immediately above the Northern Court and Colonnade could be cleared. It was evident that on the pavement discovered in December, 1903 (p. 21), there had been an upper colonnade, with two rows of square pillars of less size than those in the colonnade below. Of this colonnade, which originally surrounded the temple on three sides, only the square base-slabs of the pillars (each about 2 ft. square) remain, but a few fragments of the actual pillars were found. They are of dark brown sandstone (like the facing-blocks at the west end of the temple ; see p. 35), and were sculptured with scenes representing the king being embraced by various deities, as in the colonnades of Hatshepsu's temple. Two fragments of the same stone with portions of figures of goddesses in high relief, almost in the round, were also found here, evidently more or less in their original position.

This colonnade was an open one, looking out on to the North and South Courts and the roofs of the Lower Colonnades, and thus forming a peristyle. Its back wall was of white limestone, 8 ft. thick, with a batter or slope on each face. Both faces were originally decorated with coloured reliefs, of which fragments were already found in the first year's diggings. This wall, of which considerable remains exist on the north side, apparently ran round the whole of the temple on the platform, and was originally broken only by the granite doorway already mentioned, and by a similar doorway, which will be described later, on the west side. The reliefs will be fully described later, and a few words will be devoted to their artistic peculiarities at the end of this chapter.

Passing through the doorway, one entered a hall, the ambulatory round the pyramid, with pillars of the octagonal type already mentioned. These pillars are, as has been said, like those of the colonnades, made of blue-grey sandstone covered with a white engobé or wash of plaster, on which appears the royal label of king Mentuḥetep. The best preserved of them is 9 ft. high. They measure about 2 ft. 6 in. in diameter : the circular bases are 4 ft. across. There were eight rows of columns on either side of the central axis of the hall : the intercolumniation measures 7 ft. from centre to centre. Most of the bases are in position. One of the columns on the left of the entrance bears the label of Rameses II.

At the very end of the first year's excavations, it became evident that the four rows of columns

[1] I may note that careful search was made in every likely place, as well as under the threshold, for foundation deposits, but none were found. Perhaps a deposit will eventually be found by chance in some *un*-likely place, as was the case with the deposits of Hatshepsu in the Great Temple.

immediately north of the granite threshold contained each three columns only: beyond them was a wall of heavy nodules of flint which seemed to bar further progress. This might have been taken for a mere later excrescence but for the fact that it was seen that its face was aligned with the eastern side of the platform, and, almost immediately afterwards, that it turned at right angles north, with its north face aligned with the north side of the platform: the corner also was seen to be symmetrically placed with regard to the north-east corner of the platform. That is to say, this wall was evidently part of the original design of the temple, an integral portion of the XIth Dynasty building. That being so, it seemed possible that this rectangular mass of stones might well be the pyramid of the king who built the temple, Neb-hepet-Rā Mentuhetep, which, we knew, from the mention of it in the Abbott Papyrus, was situated at Deir el-Bahari. Work having come to an end two days after this discovery, the corner discovered was photographed (*Archaeological Report*, 1904-5, Pl. iii., fig. 2) and covered up for the summer.

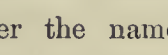
The first three days' work on the platform next winter resulted in the exposure of the whole eastern face, 60 ft. long, of this central building. The final clearance of the whole of it was effected in January, 1905, when it was entirely freed from the rubbish which surrounded and covered it.

It proved to be a mass of rubble, 60 ft. square, with an outer revetment of heavy flint boulders from the mountain-wadis near by. This was originally faced with fine limestone blocks. In only one place, the north-western corner, has any of this outer facing been preserved, showing that the building was originally about 70 ft. square. The mass is not more than 10 ft. high in any place, the top having disappeared in ancient times. In it were stuck three trunks of *sont* trees, for what purpose is not clear. Two were together at the S.E. corner, the other at the N.E. corner. The facing does not slope like that of a regular pyramid, though it has a slight batter. At each corner had been the usual torus or angle-bead, painted yellow with black bands, of which fragments have been found. Many of the blocks of a heavy cavetto cornice, which may have existed round the top, have also been found. It was, then, not a pyramid itself, but a base or pedestal, on which was raised a further construction of some kind. This cannot have been an altar or a sanctuary, as in that case we should have found the remains of a step-way giving access to the top. Nor can it have been an obelisk like that of the Vth Dynasty sanctuary of Rā at Abu Gurâb near Abûsîr, excavated by the Germans.[1] But on this base may have stood a small pyramid which gave to the building the appearance of a funerary monument of a type which we often see depicted in the papyri of the *Book of the Dead*.[2] The pyramid may very well have been built of bricks: in excavating the ramp a mass of brickwork was found which may not impossibly have come from the central building, a few yards off,

[1] Borchardt, *Das Re'-Heiligtum des Königs Ne-woser-Re'*. Though the Sun-Temple of Ne-user-Ra has a funerary character, and some comparison between its obelisk-pedestal and the central erection of Mentuhetep's temple may be made, yet the resemblance between them is merely fortuitous, and implies no real similarity. That the Deir el-Bahari erection was the pedestal of an obelisk like that at Abûsîr would be entirely improbable, apart from the fact that we know that there was a pyramid here (see above). Rā was not specially venerated at Thebes (except, later, in combination with Amen), or by this dynasty.

[2] These pyramids on a base seem to have been characteristic of the Theban necropolis. *Cf.* those figured in Perrot-Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art*, i. (Égypte), figs. 187-190. Fig. 188 especially, with its detached door in front, shows what the central erection may have looked like. The Deir el-Bahari pyramid, however, had no door in its side. A pyramid with colonnades round it (with lotus-bud pillars, however), from a painting or relief, is figured in Rosellini, *Mon. Civ.*, pl. cxxxii. 1. That this is not a representation of our temple is shown by the shape of the pillars. It is apparently an elaborate private tomb of the XVIIIth Dynasty.

and be part of the *débris* of the pyramid. In the rubbish surmounting the pyramid-base were found two fragments of thin facing slabs of white crystalline stone, like marble, which Mr. Somers Clarke informs me is found in Upper Egypt. A comparison with the white selenite (gypsum) facing-slabs of the almost contemporary Minoan palaces in Crete at once suggests itself.[1] That these thin slabs of marble could be of Roman age is precluded by the position in which they were found, and it seems impossible to avoid the conclusion that they are of XIth Dynasty date, and belong to the pyramid; perhaps the upper part had a thin facing of white slabs. The use of shining white stone, such as quartzite, seems characteristic of Middle Kingdom work, as at Hawara (the "marmor Parium" of Pliny's description of the Egyptian Labyrinth).

The central erection is then probably the base of the small pyramid of king Mentuhetep, which is mentioned in later inscriptions under the name *Ȧkh-ȧsut*  , "Glorious-are-the-seats Pyramid," a name which probably denoted the whole temple building, the central and most conspicuous portion of which must have been the pyramid. There is no other building at Deir el-Bahari which is in the least like any portion of a pyramid; and therefore, since there certainly was a pyramid here and *Ȧkh-ȧsut* was certainly here, this central erection of Mentuḥetep's funerary temple, which must have been the "house of Neb-ḥepet-Rā in *Ȧkh-ȧset*" of the stelae (p. 10), must be the pyramid in question.

But the king does not seem to have been buried beneath it. In 1905 was excavated the interior of the central erection. The rubble composing it was found to be laid in regular strata: *viz.* (1) on the top a layer of cement of powdered lime and mud; below this (2) limestone chips and small flints; (3) a thin layer two inches thick, of fine earth; (4) a rough layer of great flint nodules like those of the revetment; (5) a repetition of (3); (6) a repetition of (4); (7) light rubbish and earth. These carefully laid strata remind us of the description of the covering of the tomb of Queen Nubkhās, wife of King Sekhem-Rā-shedi-taui Sebekemsauf, which is given in one of the Amherst Papyri. The papyrus records the confession of a tomb-robber, who had plundered the tombs of this king and queen. He told the commissioners of king Rameses IX (the papyrus relates to the same occurrences as does the Abbott Papyrus) that the tomb of Queen Nubkhās was "surrounded by masonry, closed "up with boulders, protected by rubble, hidden "by stones, and covered over with *kheshkhesh*." But no tomb was found beneath the boulders and rubble of the pyramid in Neb-ḥepet-Rā's temple. Beneath the seventh layer of rubble was found simply a pavement of blocks, of what Dr. Blanckenhorn has pronounced to be a form of rock-salt, occupying a small square in the centre of the mass.[2] This peculiar feature of the erection was on a level with the pavement of the platform without. Beneath it was a layer of earth and chips, and some huge flint nodules; below these two thin strata, one of brown earth, the other of white shale. Underneath these, 5 ft. below the pavement, was the solid rock. No trace of a tomb was to be found.

The apparent absence of a tomb raises the very interesting possibility that the king was actually buried in a rock-tomb in the vicinity, the central erection of the funerary temple being

[1] See HALL, *The Two Labyrinths*, *J. H. S.*, XXV., p. 332.

[2] It might be supposed that this was the pavement of a small chamber, in the centre of the pyramid, and that the rubbish found above it had fallen in upon it, were it not that this rubbish is carefully packed in strata, and is evidently the original filling of the sham pyramid. The purpose of the "pavement" remains therefore unexplained. It is, perhaps, best to regard it as merely another stratum of the filling. Possibly it is not really rock-salt, but decomposed stone much saturated with salt.

not a tomb-pyramid surmounting the royal burial chamber, but one put up as an appropriate architectural feature of the funerary temple.[1] In the old days, as at Abûsîr and elsewhere, the kings had been buried in actual pyramids, in front of which small funerary temples were erected in their honour. Here at Deir el-Bahari, under the XIth Dynasty, we find a pyramid, beneath which the king was probably not buried at all, in the midst of the funerary temple, which is now larger than the pyramid, and has surrounded it on all sides. The pyramid has shrunk, become atrophied, and is a mere architectural survival in the midst of the temple,[2] the real tomb being elsewhere, possibly a *bâb* in the cliffs at the back of the pyramid. The approach to a great tomb was discovered, as had been anticipated,[3] during the work of 1906, but the work of 1907 has shown that this is possibly not the actual tomb of the king, but (as has already been noted on p. 13) a cenotaph[4] or "tomb-sanctuary" of the royal *ka*.

6. The Chapels and Tombs of the Princesses.

West of the pyramid was a row of six shrines, or rather chapels, made on the line of the western wall of the ambulatory, dedicated for the service of certain ladies of the king's *harîm* who were buried here, in rock-cut shaft-tombs on the platform to the west and north of the wall and the chapels. Probably because they were buried here, they are described in the chapel-inscriptions as possessing the dignity of priestesses of Hathor.

We have already seen that Deir el-Bahari was the great Theban necropolis of the XIth Dynasty. Tombs of this Dynasty were excavated in the temenos of the XIth Dynasty temple, and some of them, as we have seen, were covered up by Hatshepsu when she built her temple close by. These tombs must have been practically contemporary with the building of the temple: we see it, in fact, as a sort of XIth Dynasty Westminster Abbey; the king's courtiers and officials were buried not merely in the court, but actually in the outer colonnade of his temple, and the funerary chapel, as at Abûsîr and elsewhere, soon became a burial-place.

The tombs found in the North Court during the first season's work have already been mentioned. Those within the temple itself were found in the outer upper colonnade, which has been described above (p. 27) as looking north over the North Court, and at the back (west) of

[1] With all the usual layers of rubbish, stones, and rubble, as if the pyramid actually covered the real tomb. We may compare the sham mastabas in front of the cenotaph of Usertsen III. at Abydos (Weigall, *Abydos*, iii., p. 18), or the avowedly sham pyramid of Queen Tetashera there, which was built simply as a memorial (Currelly, *ib.*, p. 37). These erections were composed of material excavated from the cenotaph-tombs of Usertsen and Aaḥmes close by, and it might well be supposed that the Deir el-Bahari pyramid was in the same way composed of the material excavated from the cenotaph or *ka*-sanctuary immediately behind it (p. 35), but for the fact that it does not consist of the *tafl* rock in which this tomb is excavated. The *tafl* rubbish from the tomb seems to have been deposited along the line of the south temenos wall (see p. 38).

[2] It has been placed with its attendant ambulatory between the entrance and the colonnaded court (the "Säulenhof") of the normal type of funerary temple under the Old Kingdom (see the hypothetical plan of Borchardt, *Grabdenkmal des Königs Ne-user-Re'*, p. 20). In the centre of the colonnaded court descends the dromos of the "tomb-sanctuary," while the *cella*, corresponding to the "holy of holies" at Abûsîr, is placed in its normal position as regards the temple, but at the foot of a mountain instead of a pyramid. (It will be noted that there are at Deir el-Bahari no temple-magazines corresponding to those at Abûsîr. At Deir el-Bahari these must have been separate from the temple, and were probably of brick; see p. 39).

[3] *P.S.B.A.* June, 1905, p. 180; *Archaeol. Report*, 1904-5, p. 4.

[4] Like the *Bâb el-Hosân* (p. 9), or the "tombs" of Usertsen III. and Aaḥmes I. at Abydos, which were certainly never the actual tombs of those monarchs, who must have been buried at Dahshur and the Dra' Abu-l'Negga respectively.

the central building (pyramid-base?). One tomb (No. 3) was found in the upper colonnade during the first year. No. 3 was a complete chamber-tomb, of the same type as No. 2 (in the court), and, though disturbed, yielded very good funerary furniture of the XIth Dynasty, which will be found described in Chapter III. with the objects from Tombs Nos. 4 and 5, in the same colonnade, which were discovered during the second season. Both contained large uninscribed sarcophagi of white limestone. No. 6 was an unfinished shaft. The tombs at the back of the pyramid, Nos. 7 to 12, were of the same type as the foregoing, but with deeper shafts. In two (Nos. 11 and 9), were found the white limestone sarcophagi of their original occupants, like that in No. 5 in shape, but inscribed with the names of the dead. In addition, that of No. 9 is splendidly decorated with carving in relief, and is unique in its style. It is the finest sarcophagus of the Middle Kingdom ever found, and is now one of the chief treasures of the Cairo Museum. In addition, the fragments of a similar sarcophagus, with the sculpture painted, were discovered in tomb No. 10.

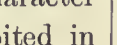
The full description of these tombs and their contents will be found in the chapters dealing specially with them. Here we are only concerned with the chronicle of their discovery, and the relation between them and the temple itself, with the shrines which are next to be mentioned. They were made after the artificial squaring of the rock for the building of the temple, and in accordance with its design, for all are within the outer upper colonnade, yet outside the wall of the ambulatory. But at the same time they were made before the final completion of the temple, because the pavement was placed in position over them, and in two cases a column originally stood directly above the shaft of a tomb.[1] That is to say, they are contemporary with the building of the temple, which was completed after the death of Neb-ḥepet-Rā I., the unfinished tomb No. 8 being perhaps intended for a queen who survived him, and never was buried here (see p. 47). Similarly one of the shrines was never completed, the rock never having been properly levelled for it.

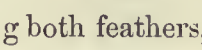
The shrines or chapels, which were discovered in the second season, are built on the line of the wall separating the pillar-hall or ambulatory round the pyramid-base from the outer colonnade in which tombs 7-12 lie. As is said below (p. 34), a portion of this wall seems to have been removed soon after its erection to make room for these chapels, which were evidently not contemplated in the original plan. The plans of the chapels are easily traceable, and part of the contiguous wall-slabs of two of them, beautifully decorated with coloured sculpture (Pl. xviii., upper photographs), are in place. There were apparently six in all (as there were six tombs behind them), arranged in two groups, each of three, north and south of the west doorway. One (the first south of the doorway) was never properly built, as has been noted above. The fragments of their coloured reliefs that have been found show us that these shrines were intimately connected with the tombs behind them. They are, in fact, the chapels of these tombs, and in them the offerings were made to the spirits of Henhenet, Kauit, Kemsit, and the other princesses who were buried here. Among these others, according to the shrine inscriptions, were Aashait, the actual queen of Neb-ḥepet-Rā II. (see p. 8, above), and the princesses Sadhe and Tamâit. Sadhe is apparently a foreign name. Aashait may have been an Ethiopian (see below, p. 32); Kemsit seems to have been a negress (see p. 50); but Henhenet was certainly an Egyptian of aristocratic type, as her mummy shows (Pl. x.).

The reconstruction of the chapels will not be attempted till the second part of this book. But here it may be permissible to describe

[1] Tombs Nos. 9 (see p. 48) and 11 (see p. 50).

briefly some of the more interesting fragments, which will give an idea of the peculiar character of the art of the XIth Dynasty as exhibited in this temple.

Some of these reliefs are very beautiful in colour and carving. There are two representations of King Neb-ḥepet-Rā II. ( ), with his wife, Queen Aashait, standing beneath the winged sun. One of these is illustrated Pl. xvii., fig. e. The preservation of the colours on these reliefs is remarkable, and the feathers of the winged sun are in the smaller fragment of the two represented with extraordinary minuteness of workmanship and delicacy of colour. The representation of the *atef*-crown, worn by the king, with both feathers at the back, has not previously been met with. Ordinarily it is represented as consisting of the white crown with the feathers fore and aft . The feathers were really placed at each side, like wings, as we see from the Osiris figures, which wear it. The fore-and-aft representation on the flat was a convention, to show both. But here, in this single instance, we have an attempt at a view of the crown seen from the side, but at the same time showing both feathers, which are represented in a sort of perspective, the nearer partially hiding the further one. This is a very interesting little deviation from the usual conventions of sculpture. Interesting also is the representation of the white crown itself, which seems to have been made of straw or basket-work painted white and bound with golden bands. The lower part seems to have been also covered with some material, but the upper was evidently open straw-work, admitting plenty of ventilation. On these two fragments the hieroglyphs are sculptured in the new and previously unknown style of high relief painted blue on rectangular labels of red. The contrast of colour presented by this arrangement, the red sun-disk with green wings above, and the white and gold crown of the king below, is sufficiently remarkable. The inscriptions are the usual  formulae.

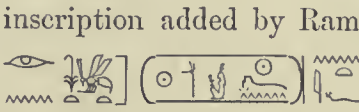
On these two fragments the faces of the king and queen are battered out of all recognition, but on another piece of relief, on which they are represented in *cavo-rilievo* (Pl. xii. a), their portraits are perfectly preserved. The king's young resolute face, with powerful chin and square nose, is thoroughly Egyptian. We had one workman very like him on the excavations. But the queen's thick lips and flat nose make her look rather Ethiopian in type. Another relief (in the same style) is of interest, since it depicted the great noble Masi walking in the temple; one of the octagonal columns of the hall or ambulatory surrounding the pyramid-base is represented on the relief close by his leg. From this representation we know that the capitals of the columns in the ambulatory were of the simple square type associated with this form of column. On another slab (Pl. xvii. d) we have a very quaint representation of the "King's Favourite, Sadhe," receiving offerings from the "King's Cupbearer." The cup contains beer. The small incised inscription above it reads, "Beer for thy *ka*!"[1] (). Sadhe, seated and wearing the short wig, stretches out her hands to receive the beverage from the hands of the obsequious cupbearer, who is followed by a remarkable young lady of very attenuated form, who bears in a rather processional manner an enormous lily on a long stalk. The inscription above contains the usual prayer for Sadhe.

A large number of fragments of the reliefs and inscriptions of these chapels have been found: portions of the gaily-coloured cornices also, and the green lily-pillars which often adorned their entrances. It will be an interesting task to try to put all these together again: the work of assembling the fragments of the false doors may very well be undertaken

[1] Or, "for thyself."

with fair hope of success, as they are easily recognizable. In each chapel part of the wall, probably that immediately opposite the entrance, was carved to represent the door of the spirit, which was supposed to communicate with the tomb beyond. The peculiar character of these "doors," with their imitation of wooden originals, is noticeable. In the false doors of the mastaba tombs of the IVth and Vth Dynasties we find the same imitation of a wooden original, but in them the scale is larger, the "door" is more like a door, and the beams of stone, representing those of wood, are straight and short.[1] Here under the XIth Dynasty the door is represented in miniature, as indeed the chapel itself is an altered miniature of an ancient mastaba-chapel, and with the grave-pit on the other side of a wall, instead of immediately underneath.

The king commemorated in these chapels was not Neb-ḥepet-Rā I., who bore the Horus-name *Sam-taui*, but Neb-ḥepet-Rā II., who bore the same title for both his "Horus-name" and his "vulture and uraeus (*nebti*) name" (Pl. xii. a, k). It may well be that the chapels, which, as we shall see, are not symmetrical with the rest of the temple, were the work of Neb-ḥepet-Rā II.

7. The Western End.—With the shrines we have turned the corner of the pyramid-base and its accompanying pillar-hall, and have reached the western part of the temple. Here, on the XIth Dynasty casing of the pyramid-base, king Siptah and the chancellor Bai were depicted adoring some deity or deities, perhaps Hathor and the deified Mentuḥetep. Siptah, whose figure is gaudily painted in red, yellow, and blue, is kneeling on the sign *ḥeb* in the act of adoration. He wears on his head the *atef*-crown, and carries the crook and flail of Osiris. Bai stands behind him at a respectful distance.[2] Between the two figures is a religious inscription, the lower part of which is preserved. This will be found translated in the second volume. Close by is an XIth Dynasty pillar bearing an inscription added by Rameses II.,  , ["Renewing of monuments carried out by King] Usermara Setepenrā for his father Amen-Rā, lord of heaven." In this part of the temple were found two sandstone statues, 4 ft. high, of the well-known vizier of Rameses II., Paser son of Neb-neteru.[3] They also are gaudily painted after the manner of the time, in black, red, yellow and white, and the inscriptions are in dark blue. One of these is now in the British Museum (No. 687), the other at Philadelphia. Near by was also found a rectangular red granite statue pedestal (seen in the general view, Pl. 3, a) in the usual form of a hollow trough, in which the plinth of the statue was placed. This may have been made

[1] The imitation of the wooden original was always kept up, even by the heretical disk-worshippers, who in their reliefs never thought of altering the traditional representation of the hallowed door of the Underworld, through which the *ka* passed to its offerings (cf. De Garis Davies, *Tell Amarna*, iii., p. 3).

[2] Bai is described as , *maāt-kheru*. This, however, does not necessarily mean that he was dead when the relief was made. He is called *maāt-kheru* and Siptah bears the attributes of Osiris, because they are adoring the gods of the dead in the western necropolis. Cf. the stone plaques with his name, as *maāt-kheru*, from the funerary temple of Siptah (Petrie, *Six Temples*, pl. xvii. 12).

[3] Spiegelberg, *P.S.B.A.*, xv., p. 523. It is not impossible that, as is often assumed, this vizier Paser is the same person as the viceroy of Kush first mentioned under Ai, in whose reign he began to inscribe his memorial niches on the rock of Mashal-kit (Gebel Adda), opposite Shatâwi, in Nubia. Prof. Breasted's apparent assumption (*Temples of Lower Nubia*, i., 1906, p. 18) that the existence of the name of Ai at Gebel Adda was unknown before his recent visit, and that the Viceroy Paser was "heretofore supposed to have been in office only under Harmhab," is curious; the name of Ai is given in Lepsius's copy of these inscriptions (*Denkm.*, iii. 114 e-h); see also the ninth (1896) edition of Murray's *Egypt*, *s.l.*, and Petrie, *Hist.* ii. 241. And that the Viceroy was "governor of the gold-country of Amon" (Breasted, *l.c.*) under Rameses II. (southern niche), seems to have been noted already by Champollion in 1828 (Champ., *Notices*, i. 39, 609).

during the quarrying operations out of a block of the granite west doorway, close to which it was found. Trough-pedestals of this kind have sometimes been taken for basins of ablution. No real basin of ablution has been found in this temple.

The plan of the temple is at the west end modified. The east front has three rows of sixteen columns each, reckoning from north to south, or sixteen rows of three columns each, reckoning from east to west. But the west face of the pyramid has a colonnade of only two rows of sixteen columns each, instead of three, with the incidental result that the north and south faces, which have, like the eastern face, three rows of columns, have only fifteen columns in each row. Behind this double row of columns is the surrounding wall of the pillar-hall, which was originally decorated with the reliefs already referred to. It is in the same line with this that the shrines or chapels were built, with a considerable projection beyond it to the east, so that they came up to the bases of the westernmost row of columns, and their east walls were practically built up against the columns. It is evident from this that the chapels were an afterthought, a modification introduced after the plan of the temple had been settled, but before it had been completed. The fact also that the chapels are placed asymmetrically with regard to the general plan of the temple, the northern group being at the end of the northern corridor or part of the pillar-hall, the southern group opposite the southern half of the west face of the pyramid-base, points also to their having been an addition. But the asymmetrical position of the western door-threshold, which is placed not in the axis of the eastern threshold and centre of the pyramid, but one intercolumniation to the north of it, is evidence that the addition of the chapels was made before the completion of the temple, which we can therefore with some confidence attribute to Neb-hepet-Rā II., to whom the erection of the chapels may well be due. The threshold of the western door is of red granite, like that of the eastern door, already described. Only the westernmost, or outer, block of it is in place; the inner one, which contained the socket and reveal for the door, &c., has vanished. A block of the wall rests in place on top of part of the threshold-slab. The portion of wall to the north of the door, which was not altered by the addition of chapels, is preserved up to the height of the dado, and the lower portions of the legs of the figures of people represented in the paintings are visible. This fact is of use in enabling us to determine the probable height of the wall, and so to arrive at the probable height of the columns of the ambulatory or pillar-hall, and its roof.

Passing through the door, we enter the western colonnaded court, in which is the dromos of the *ka*-sanctuary (p. 35). In the colonnade which we have entered are Tombs 7 to 12. The columns here are octagonal, like those of the ambulatory round the pyramid-base. There were two rows, each of eight pillars. Some of these were placed directly over the tombs; Nos. 7, 9, 11, 12 had each one a pillar over it; only Nos. 8 and 10 were placed between columns. All these tombs are placed directly up against the western face of the wall, beneath the nearest row of columns.

The discovery of this colonnade and the tombs in it marked the westernmost limit of the excavations of the second season. During the remainder of the season the work was transferred to the southern portion of the temple, in order to complete the excavation of the southern lower colonnade and to see if a south court existed analogous to the court on the north. The discovery of this court and of the southern cross and temenos-walls has already been referred to. Before, however, describing these discoveries in greater detail, it will be convenient to complete the description of the western end of the temple as the work of the third and fourth seasons has exhibited it to us.

The colonnade in which lie Tombs 7 to 12 is,

so to speak, the portico of a rectangular open court 65 ft. broad by 75 ft. long, with its centre line on the axis of the temple. This court has on the northern and southern sides a colonnade of a single line of six octagonal columns, backed by the rock, which is here cut through up to the base of the cliffs. On the centre line of this cutting, which is 120 ft. long and 65 ft. broad throughout between the facing-walls, descends the dromos of a great rock-cut *bâb* or hypogaeum, which, in the opinion of Prof. Naville, is the sanctuary of the *ka* of king Mentuḥetep (lettered "Dromos of Tomb 14" in the plan). This tomb-like cenotaph or subterranean sanctuary will be fully described in the second part of this book. The chamber, faced with great granite blocks like those of the tomb-chamber of a pyramid, and containing a *naos* of granite and alabaster, was reached in January 1907. Behind the dromos of this hypogaeum, and at the western end of the court, is a hypostyle hall, 60 by 65 ft., at a slightly higher level, with ten rows each of eight octagonal columns, placed closely together, and rather smaller than those in the rest of the temple. Here, contrary to the practice in the other parts of the building, the pavement is of limestone blocks, while the walls masking the *gebel* are of sandstone. The reliefs on these walls are of a crude and somewhat peculiar type, not met with elsewhere in the building (see Pl. xiii. a, c). In the centre of the rock-face at the west end of the temple is a small speos or, rather, niche, cut in the cliff. This once contained a shrine, in front of which, in the hypostyle hall, was a small *cella* 22 ft. by 10 ft., with walls of white limestone, sculptured with fine coloured reliefs. In this *cella* and in front of the niche stood a limestone altar, part of which remains in place, with a shallow circular depression for libations cut in the sloping top of the block. The *cella*, altar, and niche are placed on the central axis of the temple, like the *ka*-sanctuary, pyramid, and ramp. The whole temple is perfectly symmetrical.

At the S.W. corner of the rock-cutting is the *bâb* or gallery-tomb, already mentioned (p. 12). It was explored by us this year (1907); see p. 52 (Tomb No. 15). At the N.W. corner is a small pit-tomb (No. 16).

The whole of this portion of the temple, its reliefs, and the antiquities found in it, will be described in full in the second volume, where also the plan and photographs illustrating it will appear; the work of 1906-7 is not comprised in the plan or plates appearing in this volume. The western limits of the temple were reached, and the excavation in this direction completed, on February 22nd, 1907.

Retracing our steps, we see that on each side of the entrance to the Western Court and Hall the rock is cut away towards the cliffs on the south and towards the Hathor-shrine of the XVIIIth Dynasty temple on the north. On the south side, at the end of the Southern Court, it was masked by a brick wall, the remains of which are much worn, testifying to its having been exposed to the weather for a long period. Evidently there never had been a stone facing-wall here, though there is a low stone boundary, analogous to that on the N. side described below, but more worn. In this wall the bricks are laid in alternate courses of headers and stretchers with thick mortar joints. This construction also occurs in the case of a brick door-sealing in one of the XIth Dynasty tombs. But as it is also found in the case of one of the brick pillars in the North Lower Colonnade, which are probably of the XIXth Dynasty, this mode of construction proves nothing as to the date of the wall. It is common enough now in Egypt. It is its position, as part of the western boundary of the temple, and its appearance of long exposure, that dispose us to regard this wall as being, like the tomb-sealing, of XIth Dynasty date.

On the north side, we have seen that the western end of the North Court was faced with a magnificent wall of stone. The rounded

coping of this was carried, following the same diagonal line, as a boundary across the platform to the north of the outermost tomb-shrine, for a distance of about forty feet. Then it turns southwards half-left, parallel with the shrines, for thirty feet, and then west at right angles, in line with the north side of the tomb-dromos beyond. This boundary, which is 1 ft. 6 in. high, marked the limit of the temple in this direction. It is seen in the foreground of Plate v., bending round at the base of the floor blocks of the XVIIIth Dynasty chapel, described below. At the foot of the brick wall which masks the mountain on the other side, and has already been described, are the remains of a similar boundary. So that it is probable that this boundary on the north side had originally a brick wall behind it, like that on the south side, and that behind this was the rock-face. But in the reigns of Thothmes I. and III., when great building activity existed here, an alteration and addition were made in this part of the temple. The ancient brick wall was demolished and the rock-face cut back several yards. In the new face of the rock was made a small speos-shrine of Hathor, partly cut in the rock, partly artificially built up with heavy stones. On the triangular space reclaimed was built a small forehall of approach to the speos. The easternmost portion of this was actually placed on the floor of the XIth Dynasty temple, the large sandstone foundation blocks partially hiding the ancient boundary. The level of the new building was about 3 ft. 6 in. above that of the XIth Dynasty floor. It was probably approached by a short stepway from the outer upper colonnade of the XIth Dynasty temple, which was presumably kept more or less clear, although, as we have seen, in other parts of the temple, rubbish was allowed to lie as it fell, and at the western end of the temple, as well as in the lower courts, XVIIIth Dynasty votive offerings, beads, etc., are found in the dust-layer lying immediately above the pavement. But on the platform this rubbish was never more than two feet deep: that under the later XVIIIth and the XIXth Dynasty no part of the temple was covered by rubbish much deeper than this is shown by the inscriptions of Rameses II. and Siptah, who "restored" the temple, though they did not trouble to clean its floor!

The first traces of the forehall of the Hathor-shrine were discovered in December, 1904, at the end of the first half of the second season's work. The sandstone entrance door (seen in Pl. v.) was discovered on December 10th, and identified then as belonging to the XVIIIth Dynasty.[1] It bore the end of a royal inscription in relief, painted blue, of which only the signs remained (Tokyo University Museum). Owing to the great height of the rubbish-mounds above it, from which *débris* was continually falling, it was difficult to clear the building from the immediate front, so it was determined to leave it until work further to the south on lower mounds should be completed; this would enable the high mounds to be cleared with greater ease, by a flank attack, so to speak. But during the latter part of the second season and the first part of the third attention was concentrated on the clearance of the Southern Court, so that it was not till January, 1906, that the XVIIIth Dynasty building was investigated, and the entrance-jamb, which had soon after its first discovery been covered by falling rubbish, was finally uncovered. Little of the actual building but the heavy blocks of its floor was found. There seem to have been fine reliefs in it: part of one, of yellow Silsila sandstone, with good painting, represents the prince Sihathor with a goddess. In the building (see Ch. VI.) was found a fine black granite squatting statue of the scribe Nezem, of the XXth Dynasty, which will be described in Part II. It has

[1] *Archaeological Report*, 1904-5, p. 7; 1905-6, p. 4.

been assigned to the Metropolitan Museum of New York.

This forehall led directly up to the speos of Hathor, which with its beautiful image of the goddess in the form of a cow, still standing intact within her shrine, was discovered on February 7th, 1906. On that day one of the workmen was bringing down some rubbish from the face of the excavation when he loosened a large stone with his *turya*. Behind it appeared a hole, a gap in the rubbish. M. Naville was able to see that beyond was a shrine, built of stone blocks ornamented with painted reliefs, within which stood a great life-sized image of the cow-goddess. Never before had a cult-image of this size and beauty been found intact within its shrine.

The full description of the cow and its shrine will be found in M. Naville's chapter dealing with the subject. In connection with this general description of the excavation little more need be said of this important discovery. The shrine measures 10 ft. by 5 ft. It is of the same type, architecturally, as the "vaulted" shrines of the Great Temple of Hatshepsu. As in the larger rock-cut chapel of Hathor on the terrace above, which was excavated by Mariette, the rock walls were faced with stone blocks, as the shaly green *tafl* rock is utterly unsuited to sculpture. Only in this case the facing blocks are of sandstone, not limestone. The cow bears the name not of Thothmes III., who built the shrine, but of his successor, Ȧmenḥetep II. This king is not mentioned elsewhere at Deir el-Bahari.

Both cow and shrine were taken down and have been re-erected in the Cairo Museum, where they can be seen and admired of all.

8. The Southern Court.—We now turn to the last quarter of the Temple, and the least interesting, the South Lower Court. The excavation of the South Lower Colonnade was completed in January, 1905, and then the south-east corner of the platform was turned. Here was found the south cross-wall, already described, which is exactly similar to the north cross-wall discovered during the excavations of the Great Temple and the work of the season of 1903-4. The southern wall is more complete than the northern, and the position of the doorway, which had an inscription on each jamb, is evident. It is only a few feet distant from the side of the platform. Many of the blocks of this wall bear the inscription in red paint, , "House of the *Ka*" (see p. 19). Then a great part of the South Court, which lay between the platform and the southern horn of cliffs, was excavated. The stone wall which had once masked the side of the platform here proved to have utterly disappeared. The court itself ended in a sharp angle, more acute even than that of the northern court. In the course of the work were discovered many of the fragments of sculpture depicting the war with the *Aamu* (p. 5, Pls. xiv, xv.), which probably originally belonged to the S. Lower Colonnade, and six grey granite standing statues of king Khakaurā Usertsen (Senusert) III., which had probably originally stood in a row on the platform above, and had fallen down into the court, getting badly broken thereby. All have been broken off at the knees, and the lower parts of all except one have disappeared. The heads of four are well preserved, with the exception of the nose. There is, as will be seen from the photographs (Pl. xix.), a considerable difference between the portraits, which shows that they represent the king at different periods of his life.

The oldest portrait is kept in the Cairo Museum; the other three, including one with very strongly marked features, are in the British Museum (Nos. 684-6, Pl. xix. c-e), which also possesses another fine portrait of the great king representing him in vigorous old age, the colossal head of red granite found by Prof. Petrie at Abydos, in 1901. This also was

presented to the Museum by the Egypt Exploration Fund.

The first work undertaken in the third season (November, 1905) was the completion of the excavation of the Southern Court. The cross-wall was followed south until it was found to join a similar wall running eastwards, just as the fragment of the northern wall discovered in the work of ten years ago joins a similar wall running eastwards, which was then naturally considered to be the southernmost boundary-wall of Hatshepsu's temple. The discovery of the parallel southern wall shows, however, that both these walls, and the cross-walls, were in reality of XIth Dynasty work; the long walls running east and west being, as has been said above (p. 20), the temenos-walls of Mentuḥetep's temple. The southern wall was followed for a considerable distance eastward. It had been covered in ancient times by *ṭafl* rubbish, which looks as if it had been carried from an excavation in the *ṭafl* rock and tipped in the regular Egyptian way along the line of the temenos-wall. The only excavation in the *ṭafl* answering the requirements of the case is that of the great *ka*-tomb or subterranean sanctuary in the Western Court, and it may well be that the rubbish from this was tipped along the temenos-wall not so very long after the latter was built. The Egyptians very often did things in this careless fashion. Behind the temenos-wall (to the south of it) is a heavy brick wall. This was continued eastward into the plain by a low boundary-wall of brick, the course of which had been traced during the previous season. This turns to the north at right angles, thus enclosing the whole temple in a large rectangular temenos. The northern side of this was apparently destroyed by Hatshepsu's work. The excavation of the southern line of it may be seen in the bird's-eye view (Pl. vi., fig. 3). Connected with it were some foundation-blocks of the blue-grey sandstone used in the temple, which were discovered in a line with the new house built in 1905 for the expedition, about a hundred yards east of the camp. These foundations were only about 12 feet long, and then ceased abruptly, no further traces of building here being found.

At the angle of the southern cross-wall and the stone temenos-wall were uncovered some chambers of brick, compactly built, and covered with stucco (Pl. viii., figs. 3, 4). The walls of these chambers are more or less intact up to the height of 6 or 7 feet, and are 2 to 3 feet thick. Remains of three chambers exist. The date of this building seems to be between the XIIth Dynasty and the beginning of the XVIIIth Dynasty. It is evident that both of the XIth Dynasty walls were broken down before its erection, as it is placed upon the ruins of their junction (see photograph in the *Archaeological Report* for 1905-6, Pl. i., fig. 5). But fragments of pottery found in the bricks certainly date to about the XIIth-XVIIIth Dynasty period. The bricks are large and well-formed,[1] resembling those of the XVIIIth Dynasty girdle-wall of the temple of Deir el-Medîna. The plaster with which they were covered is firm, well-made, and hard. Close by, between the houses and Tomb No. 13, is a small wall, only one brick thick and wavy on plan, in order to give so thin a wall the requisite stability (see p. 51). This peculiar mode of wall-building is elsewhere found associated with buildings of the XIIth Dynasty.[2] One thing is certain: these buildings are not later than the Ramesside period. That they could be Coptic is utterly impossible, as all the objects found near them are either XIth Dynasty or Ramesside, and their bricks are not of Coptic form. In Coptic days, also, these buildings were buried deep in the *débris* of the temple. Their purpose is doubtful. They cannot well be buildings connected with the solitary tomb (No. 13) that was found in this court, as they must have been erected after the

[1] Measuring $13 \times 5\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$ in., while the XIth Dynasty bricks average $12 \times 7 \times 3$ in.

[2] *Abydos*, iii., pl. xlii.

XIth Dynasty walls had fallen into ruin. In one chamber some grain was found. It seems most probable that they were either magazines or priests' houses connected with the service of the temple.[1]

The rest of the court was thoroughly cleared down to the rock floor and the whole cliff-face on the south laid bare. Evidently there had been a splendid limestone wall here, as elsewhere in the temple, to mask the rock face; and a foundation-trench, 7 ft. broad and 18 ins. below the level of the rest of the court, had been made along the face of the cliff for the base-blocks, which remain in position at the extreme W. end for a length of 15 ft. 6 in. On the platform side the base blocks (5 ft. wide) of the masking wall of the platform still exist for a length of 54 ft., and at the apex of the court the base blocks of both walls join. Here some of the limestone blocks of the platform wall are still in position for a length of 8 ft. 6 in. In front of the W. angle is a brick wall measuring 18 ft. by 5 ft. and 3 ft. 3 in. high, which crosses the court and ends at the trench at the S. side.

In clearing the court a chamber tomb (No. 13; see p. 51) was found, with nothing whatever in it, which seems to be more ancient than the temple. It is probable that this solitary tomb had been made in this place under the shadow of the cliff in the time of the Old Kingdom, and that when Mentuḥetep's workmen excavated the rock to make a symmetrical court on the south side of the rectangular platform, which was the main feature of the design for the king's temple, they cut the shaft of this old tomb, which must originally have been of some depth, in half. Still further, they hewed a piece out of it to make room for the base-blocks of the wall which was to mask the rock-face, and keep their even line. The violation of the tomb and the filling of what remained of the shaft with rubbish probably took place at this time. (For further description of this tomb, see p. 51, and for plan and section of it see Pl. xi., where will also be found a sketch diagram showing its original construction and later alteration.)

9. Conclusion.—I may conclude with a few paragraphs on certain points of interest in connection with the art of the temple. Its architecture will be specially dealt with in the second volume, by Mr. Somers Clarke.

We have seen that the XVIIIth Dynasty artists sculptured the rear walls of their colonnades just as the ancient artists of the XIth Dynasty had sculptured theirs. Some of their work reminds us occasionally of that of the XIth Dynasty sculptors improved and beautified, and it may be that both the style and subjects of the sculptures in the older temple were sometimes imitated by the artists of Hatshepsu.

An imitation of the reliefs of the older temple is perhaps seen in the sculptures of the southern funerary hall on the upper platform of Hatshepsu's temple. These reliefs have a very archaïstic appearance, and look like copies of the work of the Middle Kingdom; no doubt the walls of the XIth Dynasty temple were decorated with many such scenes depicting the slaying of the animals for the funerary offerings, the bringing of birds and other food for the royal *ka*. Of reliefs of this type we have found a good many fragments belonging to the XIth Dynasty temple. They depict men gathering reeds, driving animals, sowing and reaping, and so forth, for the maintenance of the royal funerary cult (*Arch. Report*, 1903, pl. iv.). There are also dadoes of plants and birds of beautiful execution (New York), and reliefs of animals (Pl. xvi.), which no doubt formed part of scenes of the king hunting in the marshes and deserts.[2] These

[1] But not the original magazines of the temple, as they are of later date than it. The original magazines, which must have been close by, but have been destroyed, were no doubt also of brick (see p. 30).

[2] Cf. similar reliefs of the Vth Dynasty in the funerary

reliefs apparently belong to the south side of the wall surrounding the pyramid-hall or ambulatory. Those depicting the ceremonies of the *Sed*-festival (?)[1] and the foundation of the temple,[2] and processions of priests, magnates, and warriors (Pls. xiii., xiv.): female slaves bearing "the god's offerings" from the farms attached to the temple (Pl. xiii. e); foreigners and court dignitaries bringing gifts to the king seated on his throne or standing with the gods behind him,[3] apparently belong also to this wall and to the western end of the temple; while those representing boat-processions, foreign captives of the *Reten-reru* (; Pl. xv. f; p. 68), and the campaigns against the *Aamu* (Pls. xiv., xv.), belong to the back-walls of the lower colonnades. The reliefs of the shrines of the priestesses represent these personages and their attendants, Hathor-cows, &c., besides groups of the king and queen and the great nobles of the court (Pls. xii. a; and xvii., xviii.). Some features of the costumes worn by the royal and priestly personages have already been mentioned (p. 32). The weapons of the warriors are noticeable: especially the great oxhide shield and round copper axehead, characteristic of the Middle Kingdom (Pl. xiv. h). The figures of the gods are, as already at Abûsîr under the Vth Dynasty, the same as in later times. Amen, who makes one of his earliest appearances here,[4] wears his cap and high feathers: even Set appears on the wall of the Western Court[5] in his traditional guise. Hathor is the deity most often occurring: a fine relief of her (perhaps repainted under the XVIIIth Dynasty) has been assigned to the Museum of Toronto. Everywhere in the temple the wall-reliefs are surmounted by a frieze of stars, a stripe of alternating red and blue squares, and the usual *kheker*-ornament above painted red and blue.

The reliefs of the chapels and of the colonnades evidently have come down to us as they were originally sculptured, with, in the case of the chapel-reliefs, the original colour undimmed. The colouring of the colonnade reliefs has often gone, and the reliefs themselves have a worn, rubbed and shiny appearance, which makes it evident that they had been exposed to the atmosphere for a long period, whereas the colour of the chapel-reliefs was preserved in the semi-darkness of the roofed ambulatory and the chapels themselves. The colour of the reliefs of the great wall surrounding the pyramid has evidently been largely renewed, possibly in Hatshepsu's time, possibly in the time of Rameses II. The restored colour is very different from the delicate XIth Dynasty colouring of the untouched reliefs from the chapels of the priestesses.

These XIth Dynasty reliefs are of the highest interest, as they tell us more of the art of the XIth Dynasty than had ever been known before. They vary in artistic quality, some fulfilling our traditional idea of the rude work of the XIth Dynasty, while others are of very fine work. These last may well be the work of the sculptor Mertisen, who flourished in the reign of Neb-ḥepet-Rā, and his school. Mertisen says on his funerary tablet (C. 14 of the Louvre): "I was an artist skilled in my art. I knew my art, how to represent the forms of going forth and returning, so that each limb may be in its proper place. I knew how the figure of a man should walk and the carriage of a woman; the poising of the arm to bring the hippopotamus low, the going of the runner," &c. He also tells

temple of Ne-user-Rā at Abûsîr, BORCHARDT, *Grabdenkmal des K. Ne-user-Re'*, p. 37.

[1] Relief of the king, enthroned as Osiris, receiving the homage of the vizier Kheti.

[2] Relief of the king measuring out the limits of the temple-ground with oar and mason's square, in the *cella*; he small relief (Pl. xii. e), showing the same scene on the side of a naos on a funerary boat.

[3] Relief of a foreigner (? a Punite) bringing offerings: in the Ashmolean Museum. Pl. xiii. g, the king seated. Fine relief of the king standing with a goddess behind him, from the *cella* (1907).

[4] On the XIIth Dynasty stelé of Usertsen III. (Pl. xxiv.).

[5] Brown sandstone relief of the type illustrated Pl. xiii. a, e.

us that no man shared this knowledge with him but his eldest son. Now since Mertisen and his son were the chief artists of their day, it is more than probable that they were employed to decorate their king's funerary chapel. So that in all probability many of the XIth Dynasty reliefs at Deir el-Bahari are the work of Mertisen and his son, and in them we may see the actual "forms of going forth and returning, the poising "of the arm to bring the hippopotamus low, the "going of the runner," to which he alludes on his tombstone. This gives a personal interest to these reliefs which is usually lacking in Egypt, where we rarely know anything of the artists who created the works we admire so much. We know the names of the sculptor and the painter of Seti I.'s temple at Abydos, but the name of its architect is unknown. We know the name and portrait of the sculptor of some of the tombs at Tell el-Amarna, and we have the strange picture of the artist Hui in the tomb of Ȧnḥurkhāui at Thebes.[1] But otherwise very few names of the artists are directly associated with the temples and tombs which they decorated, and of the architects we know little more. It was the great Senmut, we know, who designed Queen Hatshepsu's temple at Deir el-Bahari, but the designer of the temple of Mentuḥetep remains unknown, though its decorators may have been the Mertisen and his son who are known to have lived in this reign. The character of their work, if it is theirs, is peculiar.

The remarkably high relief of some of the shrine-sculptures, especially the hieroglyphs, is of a style previously unknown (see Pl. xvii., figs. c, d, e, f). Some of the figures and portraits are extremely good, especially Pls. xiii. c, e, h; and 17 c. A very good portrait-figure of the king in relief was found in 1907 in the *cella* at the western end of the temple. One of the best things found is the upper part of a portrait-relief of the king (all below the mouth is destroyed), discovered during the first season's work.[2] The colour is splendid, and the modelling of the face very fine; there is not a bit of flat surface in it, and in this respect, its high relief, and free style, it reminds one of the bull's head and other gesso reliefs from Knossos. Another fine relief shows part of the figure of a foreigner (possibly a Libyan) wearing a complicated necklace. The head, which is very well modelled, is bent back: probably the figure comes from a scene of the king striking down enemies.[3] But other reliefs, such as those of the brown sandstone retaining wall of the Western Court (Pl. xiii. a, c), show an awkwardness at which an artist of the succeeding dynasty would have smiled, and which a sculptor of the XVIIIth Dynasty would have regarded as hopelessly old-fashioned. This old-fashioned appearance belongs also to the sculpture of the sarcophagus of the priestess Kauit, which no doubt comes from the same hands. The drawing of the figures is often peculiar, strange lanky forms taking the place of the perfect proportions of the IVth-VIth and the XIIth Dynasty styles.[4] This work reminds us of the rude sculptures which used to be regarded as typical of the art of the XIth Dynasty, but, with the exception of Pl. xii., fig. b, is a great improvement upon them. On the other hand, we often find work which is little, if at all, inferior to that of the best work of the XIIth Dynasty,[5] and some that reminds us of the best work of the Old Kingdom.[6]

[1] *ÄZ.*, xlii., p. 130.

[2] *Arch. Report*, 1903-4, pl. iv. 13.

[3] Cf. Borchardt, *Ne-user-Re'*, p. 48.

[4] A good example is the slab Pl. xvii. f (Cairo Mus.), on which we see the priestess Sadhe receiving a bowl of beer (see p. 32, above). Another good example of this naïve art is seen in one of the fragments of the war-reliefs, on which the king is represented whirling an Aamu round by the leg (Brit. Mus.).

[5] (See Pl. xiv. h; xii. g). The beauty of the high relief of the shrine sculptures has already been commented upon (p. 31).

[6] *E.g.*, the head of a king and part of the figure of a

In fact, the art of Neb-ḥepet-Rā's reign was the art of a transitional period. Under the decadent Memphites of the VIIth and VIIIth Dynasties, Egyptian art rapidly fell from the high estate which it had attained under the Vth Dynasty, and though good work seems to have been done under the Herakleopolites, the chief characteristic of Egyptian art at the time of the Xth and early XIth Dynasties is its curious roughness and almost barbaric appearance. When, however, the kings of the XIth Dynasty reunited the whole land under one sceptre, and the long reign of Neb-ḥepet-Rā Mentuḥetep enabled the reconsolidation of the realm to be carried out by one hand, art began to revive; and, just as to Neb-ḥepet-Rā I. must be attributed the renascence of the Egyptian state under the hegemony of Thebes, so must the revival of art under the XIth Dynasty be attributed to the Theban artists of his time, perhaps to Mertisen and his son. They carried out in the realm of art what their king had carried out in the political realm. The sculptures of Neb-ḥepet-Rā's temple at Deir el-Bahari are, then, monuments of the renascence of Egyptian art, after the state of decadence into which it had fallen during the long civil wars between South and North; it is a reviving art, struggling to regain perfection. And in this fact lies its special interest.

From this description it will have been seen that this temple is an important monument of Egyptian art and architecture. In point of fact, it is one of the most important that have been discovered of late years, ranking second only in historical and artistic importance to the discoveries of the remains of the early dynasties at Hierakonpolis and Abydos. It is the only temple of the Middle Kingdom of which any considerable remains have been found, and on that account the study of its architectural peculiarities will be most interesting. It is the best preserved of the older temples of Egypt, and at Thebes it is the most ancient building that exists.

In conclusion, I wish to thank Prof. Naville, Mr. Somers Clarke, Mr. Peers, and Mr. Ayrton, who have read this chapter in proof, for several suggestions.

H. R. Hall.

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foreigner, just mentioned above. The relief, Pl. xiv. b, of chiefs bowing down, may be compared with the Vth Dynasty reliefs depicting the same subject, from Abûsîr (*Ne-user-Reʿ*, p. 77).

CHAPTER III.

THE TOMBS.

By H. R. Hall and E. R. Ayrton.

The tombs discovered were all, with one possible exception, of the XIth Dynasty, and therefore contemporary with the temple.

One only (No. 13) is probably of earlier date, and at any rate was made before the building of the temple.

No. 1. Northern Court; at east end. A simple rectangular grave (*saḥrîḳ* in the Ḳûrnâwi dialect) dug in the *tafl* floor of the court. Length, 9 ft. 9 in.; width, 5 ft.; depth, 4 ft. 6 in. Violated.

Contents: a battered mummy, and some fragments of inscribed papyrus (hieratic), no doubt belonging to a later burial; six complete pots of coarse dark brown ware, handleless, and with pointed bases; five fragments of similar pots; the base of a vase of finer ware; the base of a pottery vase-stand; a wooden model vase; one conical vase-sealing of clay; the top of a wooden lily-pillar from the cabin of a model boat (Pl. x.; Brit. Mus.); and two nuts. It is possible that this is an unfinished shaft like No. 6, and that it was used as a grave in later times; the XIth Dynasty objects found in it will then be relics of the violation of other neighbouring tombs, shovelled in with other rubbish to cover the later burial.

No. 2. Northern Court; at west end, close to the wall (Plan and Section: Pl. xi.). A single rectangular chamber with a rectangular pit of unequal depth. Length of pit, 12 ft.; width, 6 ft. 1 in.; depth at further end, above the door of the chamber, 14 ft., at hither end 8 ft. 6 in. The slope at the bottom is roughly hewn into steps. Door, 5 ft. high, 4 ft. 4 in. wide; set toward the south side of the pit, not in the middle. Brick sealing-wall to door, broken down on south side: height, 3 ft. 5 in.; length, 3 ft. 10 in.; width 2 ft. 11 in. Laid on a low brick threshold. Breadth of door-jamb, 2 ft. Chamber: height, 5 ft.; length of north wall, 10 ft. 7 in.; of south wall, 9 ft. 10 in.; of east wall, 6 ft. 2 in.; total length of ceiling over all, 13 ft. Violated.

Contents: in rubbish in shaft, XVIIIth Dynasty, blue beads and other objects, including scarabs. In chamber: the perfect skull of the original owner, a man; a thin horn bangle (Pl. x.; Brit. Mus.), 2 in. in diameter; fragments of the wooden coffin, of the rectangular box type, painted white and uninscribed; fragments of the model boats, including masts, oars, and a notched rest or crutch for the yard, painted with black and red spots on white; five men of the crew, three standing, two seated; two wooden stands and one of white limestone (Brit. Mus.) on which the boat was placed (?)—these are circular in section and in the shape of truncated cones,—two model vases, and other fragments.

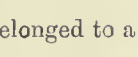
Nos. 3-6. On the Temple-Platform. Placed in a row at approximately equal distances from each other beneath the floor of the outer upper colonnade (the pillars of which have disappeared) facing north. They lie north and south. All are chamber tombs of the same type as No. 2; No. 6 was never completed.

No. 3. Depth of shaft, at hither end, 10 ft. 5 in.; at further end 15 ft. 10 in.; length 10 ft. 10 in.; width, 4 ft. 5 in. Three steps at bottom, the lowest very close to the door. Height of door, 4 ft. 5 in.; width, 1 ft. 7 in.; breadth of jamb, 2 ft. Remains of brick sealing-wall, 2 ft. high. Height of chamber, 4 ft. 5 in.; length, 9 ft. 4 in.; width, 6 ft. 6. in. Violated.

In the shaft was found a poor burial of late period. The mummy was wrapped in a torn and dilapidated cloth; no coffin or ushabtis.

In the chamber were found the remains of the original XIth Dynasty burial. Some of the cloth in which the mummy was wrapped is fine and fringed; some, of coarser texture, has a border of blue lines. The mummy, which was that of a woman, was in fragments. The skull (lower jaw missing), two feet, and an arm (Pl. x.) are now in the British Museum (Nos. 40924—7). The skull has pathological alterations; a swelling of the bone on either side of the head, probably indicating a condition of inflammation before death. The feet and hand are very delicate, and the nails of the latter are carefully tinted with henna. With these remains were found three pairs of silver bangles $2\frac{1}{4}$ to $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. in diameter; one pair is solid, another wire, the third is hollow and has a curious toggle-joint. An odd one, of this type, was also found, and was retained at Cairo. The others are in the British Museum (Nos. 40929—31),[1] as is also a necklace of bright dark and light-blue and white cylinder beads with a plain blue glazed clasp at each end (No. 40928, see Pl. x.). This object is as characteristic of burials of this period as is the elaborate funerary furniture of boats, model granaries, *etc.* With the exception of the boat, which was smashed up, only the small oars remaining, the furniture was in this tomb well preserved. The chief objects are a granary of the usual kind, and a model bakery and brewery of unusual type. The granary has, as usual, its small wooden men ascending the stairs with sacks of grain which they are throwing down into the sealed chambers of the granary through holes left for the purpose, while a scribe, seated in the court below, keeps tally (Pl. ix., fig. 5). In the other model, which measures 31 inches by $18\frac{1}{2}$, we see a line of women hard at work grinding the grain with rollers, which are painted red to represent red quartzite. A line of squatting men, facing the corn-grinders, sifts the grain through sieves. Back to back with them are the bakers, squatting in front of their tall black ovens, and a line of brewers placing the bread in red vats to ferment in order to make the beer. A *reis* stands, thong-stick in hand, overseeing the work. This fine model (Pl. ix., figs. 3, 7) has been assigned to the British Museum, and is now exhibited with the other VIth to XIIth Dynasty models of the same kind in the Fourth Egyptian Room (Case 188; No. 40915). The granary has gone to America. These models, which are always found in tombs of this age,[2] were placed in them with the idea that they would turn into ghostly boats, granaries, bakeries, and slaves, to serve the dead in the next world. It is the same idea as that of the *ushabti* or "answerer," who, when the dead man "is set to do any of the labours which are "to be done there in the tomb world, to plough "the fields, to fill the canals with water, to carry "sand of the east to the west," answers, "Here "am I, when ye call!" These little wooden boatmen, bakers, brewers, and grain-bearers are in fact all of them *ushabtis*.[3]

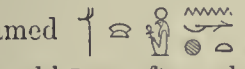
[1] The solid pair weigh 233·5 grs. troy (15·13 grms.) and 221·3 grs. (14·34 grms.) each; the wire pair 116 grs. (7·516 grms.) and 115·3 grs. (7·47 grms.); the hollow pair 107 grs. (6·933 grms.) and 95 grs. (6·155 grms.).

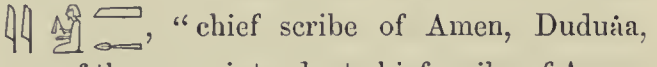
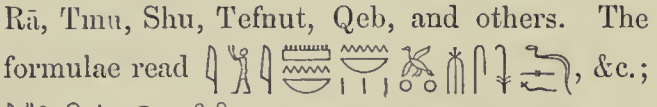
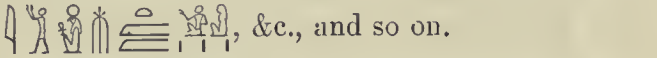
[2] A typical series are the tombs of el-Bersha, those of Beni Hasan, excavated by Mr. John Garstang, and Meir. The famous models of soldiers from Meir, in the Cairo Museum, are well known. A well-preserved set of these models, together with a beautifully painted coffin, also in the Cairo Museum, was found in a tomb in the Northern Court at Deir-el Bahari during the former excavations. The coffin belonged to a treasurer called  , Buau, and in all the outside inscriptions, also Mentuḥetep.

[3] Actual *ushabtis* of the formal type, which are so common in later burials, are rarely found in tombs of

The other objects from this tomb, which have been described above, are (1907) all temporarily exhibited in the North (Semitic) Gallery of the British Museum.

No. 4. (Pl. ix., figs. 1, 2.) Of the same type. Length of shaft at top, 10 ft. 5 in.; at bottom, 10 ft. Width, 5 ft. Least depth, 14 ft. 7 in.; greatest depth (over entrance to chamber), 16 ft. 5 in. Height of entrance to chamber, 5 ft. 5 in.; width, 4 ft. 1 in.; height of steps, 1 ft. 1 in. Brick sealing-wall (broken down); height, 4 ft.; width, 1 ft. 11 in. (Pl. ix, fig. 1). Chamber: length, 11 ft. 5 in.; width, 6 ft. 3 in.; height 6 ft. 10 in. Violated.

In the shaft nothing was found. In the chamber was found a secondary burial of the XXth-XXIst Dynasty. The coffin, of the usual type of this period, was found resting awry on the slope of the rubbish with which the chamber was half filled; it had simply been thrust into the chamber without any attempt at cleaning out the rubbish or the remains of the original burial, which had evidently been violated a long time before, probably in the time of the XIXth Dynasty. The coffin contained the mummy, with a wooden mummy-cover or board. The dead man was an official named  Userkhārā-nekht.[1] Userkhārā, after whom this person was named, is apparently King Rameses X., so that he was no doubt born in the reign of that monarch. The coffin was covered with bats' dung, and ancient wild bees' nests were found in the chamber, which must therefore have been at least partly open to the sky for some time at a period posterior to the time of the XXIst Dynasty.

In the rubbish stood the great rectangular white limestone sarcophagus of the original occupant (Pl. x. fig. 2), measuring 8 ft. 5½ in. long by 3ft. 4 in. broad outside, 7 ft. 3 in. by 2 ft. 2 in. inside, and 3 ft. 1 in. deep. The lid (broken) was 10 in. thick, and rested on a ledge 1½ in. broad, 4 in. below the lip of the sarcophagus, which is 5¼ in. broad. The sarcophagus is entirely uninscribed. In it, besides remains of the original burial, was found the upper half of a round-topped red granite stela of the XVIIIth-XIXth Dynasties measuring 20 in. by 18 in., commemorating the  , "chief scribe of Amen, Duduâa, son of the superintendent chief scribe of Amen, Ḥat-âai, deceased," who is known from other monuments.[2] This stela, which is of fine workmanship, is in the British Museum (No. 706). It will be fully described in the chapter on the later monuments. The inscription chiefly consists of adorations to various deities, Amen, Rā, Tmu, Shu, Tefnut, Qeb, and others. The formulae read  , &c.;  , &c., and so on.

Of the original burial comparatively little was found. The mummy had almost entirely disappeared. Remains of three models were recovered; a boat with men, a granary, and a bakery of the same type as that, already described, from Tomb 3. Two nearly perfect necklaces of glazed faïence beads of the same type as, but larger than, that from Tomb 3 were also found. One of these has alternate rows of light blue and white, the other of

this age. For specimens see GARSTANG, *el Arábah*, Plates iii. and vi. For the wax ushabtis from Deir el-Bahari, see *post*, p. 48, description of Tombs 9 and 10.

[1] His title is given as the (*sic.*)

[2] Stelé in the Louvre, No. C. 50. A statue of this same Duduâa was found by M. Legrain at Karnak in 1903. From its inscriptions we learn that he was a functionary connected with the worship of Neb-ḥepet-Rā in Deir el-Baḥari. His father may be identical with the Ḥat-âai, "chief scribe of the granaries in the House of the *Aten*," whose tomb is described by DARESSY, *Ann.* ii., p. 1 ff. Ḥat-âai naturally abandoned the *Aten*-cult later on and became a chief scribe of Amen.

white, dark blue, light blue, and again white beads. The first has been assigned to America, the second to the British Museum.

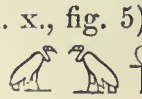
Loose in the rubbish were found a heavy stone chisel, measuring 10 in. long, and a wooden lever, 2 ft. 6 ins. long, which had no doubt been used by the original plunderers to prize off the lid of the sarcophagus. Both these interesting implements are in the British Museum.

No. 5. (Plan and Section, Pl. xi.) Of the same type. Length of shaft, 10 ft. 5 in.; width, 5 ft. 2 in.; least depth, 13 ft., greatest, 15 ft. 6 in. The entrance to the chamber, 5 ft. in height, is closed, not by a brick wall, but by two tall slabs of sandstone set up endways. The larger of these measures 5 ft. 7 in. high by 2 ft. 10 in. broad; the smaller 4 ft. 10 in. high by 1 ft. broad. This stands on a small block, 1 ft. 9 in. long by 6 in. high. The space between the stones and walls was filled up with fragments of bricks and mortar. Height of step down into chamber, 1 ft. 11 in., length of chamber, 11 ft.; width, 6 ft. 2½ in., height, 7 ft. 3 in. in centre; the roof is slightly rounded; the floor irregular in level. Violated.

In the shaft, remains of two secondary burials of the XXIst Dynasty were found close to the surface; the coffins are badly damaged, and the names of the occupants illegible. Some feet below were found a head and three forelegs of cattle. Similar bones of cattle were found in the chamber itself. The hooves are long and unworn, showing that the animals had never been used for work, so that they were probably sacred. The horns are of the long curved type which is that of the horns of the Hathor-cow. It may well be that these are remains of sacred cows of the goddess of Deir el-Bahari.

As in No. 4, a large rectangular white limestone sarcophagus stood amid the rubbish in the chamber. It also is uninscribed, and exactly like the other but for the fact that it has no ledge to hold the lid. It is 9 ft. 4 in. long; 3 ft. 5½ in. broad and 3 ft. 11½ in. high without the lid, which is 8 in. thick. Part of this, 3 ft. long, remains in position. The inside depth of the sarcophagus is 3 ft. The end nearest the entrance was broken off by the plunderers.

The skeleton of the occupant, a female, was found in it. The head retains the hair. The hands are rigidly clenched. It is evident that the deceased was quite young. Of her *parure*, only two fine lentoid beads of carnelian, from a necklace, were extant (Pl. x. 3; "Objects from Tombs," &c.). Remains of four models, a boat, a granary, a bakery, and a group of soldiers, were found. Of this last model, which must have been like the famous military models from Meir in the Cairo Museum, two figures of black soldiers with shield and spear, and several loose shields were recovered. The shields represent the usual wooden shields of the period, covered with black-and-white oxhide.

Two important objects from this tomb, which have been brought back and are now in the British Museum and the Edinburgh Museum respectively, are tall figures of female slaves, carrying baskets on their heads (Pl. ix., figs. 4, 6). They are nearly 3 ft. high, and are well modelled and painted. The basket of the one at Edinburgh was missing. The plunderers had no use for these things; they merely threw them on one side or smashed them if they were in the way. What they wanted was the gold and precious stones on the mummies, and these they took, leaving in this case only two carnelian beads. In Tomb No. 2, as we have seen, silver was beneath their notice. Two fragments of what had been a fine object have been assigned to the British Museum. This was a vase-stand of alabaster, carved in open-work to represent opposed figures of the vulture of the goddess Mut or Nekhebet (and possibly the hawk of Horus) with *ānkh* signs (and probably *ṭaṭ* signs also) between the groups, in a style characteristic of the Middle Kingdom. The two fragments found (Pl. x., fig. 5) show a vulture-group and an *ānkh*  .

A piece of an alabaster bowl, some broken earthenware vases of the same type as those found in Tombs 1 and 2 (with painted ends), small offering-saucers, and fragments of earthenware bowls were found. These last show traces of burning, and charcoal was found in them and beneath the sarcophagus. They and the charcoal may possibly be relics of the makers of the tomb, not cleared out when the priestess was buried. Such untidiness would be quite Egyptian. The cattle bones found in the shaft have already been mentioned.

No. 6, east of No. 3. An unfinished shaft. 3 ft. deep, with nothing in it.

H. H.

No. 7. This is the first of the series of six tombs (of which one was never completed) which are situated behind the chapels on the west of the platform; and although they appear from their position to bear no particular relation to the chapels, yet it cannot be a mere coincidence that the names of the occupants of three of the tombs correspond with names found on the cornices of the chapels.

We shall probably not be mistaken if we consider that the chapels were dedicated to the occupants of the tombs.

When we had cleared away the rubbish which concealed this tomb (No. 7), it was found that the original pavement of the temple which formerly covered the mouth of the pit had been removed, and the shaft was consequently filled with broken pieces of stone and paving blocks from the destruction of the temple.

The plan of the tomb is the same as that of those on the north side of the platform—a vertical shaft, hewn out of the shale to a depth of 16 ft., at the bottom of which is a chamber on the east.

The doorway had been somewhat roughly cut and a slab of limestone had therefore been placed as a lintel, the broken space above being filled up with bricks; these were then plastered, giving the door a neat appearance. A large slab of limestone had formerly closed the entrance to the chamber.

No remains of the original sarcophagus were found, but the XIth Dynasty mummy, with its cartonnage, was lying in fragments in the south-east corner. Here was found also the pair of leather sandals illustrated on Pl. x. fig. 4.

At the northern end of the chamber was found a square wooden box containing the liver and other viscera of the deceased packed in a fine black dust.

In the centre, and lying across the chamber, was found a painted wooden coffin belonging to the XXth-XXIst Dynasty; on its breast were hung garlands made of plaited rush-leaves threaded on string. This burial was that of a woman, though the name on the coffin seems to be the masculine one of Hor-si-aset (?). By the side of the coffin were numerous fragile stalks of papyrus and several sticks with leaves bound to the top.

The date of this secondary burial is the same as that of the burial of Userkhārā-nekht in Tomb 4. It is evident that that tomb had been violated long before the secondary burial, so that we have the period between the XIXth and XXIst Dynasties as the probable date of the spoliation of the temple.

No. 8. This tomb was, like one of the chapels,[1] never finished, the shaft having been sunk to a depth of 5 ft. only; it had then been deserted and filled up with rubbish almost to the top, on which was placed a layer of cement composed of stone chips and lime; on this again was a layer of mud and sand, and on this bed the sandstone pavement was laid.

The cutting of this shaft was done with greater care than was the case in the other tombs.

Its chief point of interest lies in the fact

[1] This tomb and chapel may belong to one another (see p. 31).

that the superimposed pavement was quite independent of that of the remainder of the temple, so that when the blocks immediately over the opening were removed, none of the side slabs overhung the entrance, as was the case in all the other tomb-pits. This seems to suggest that the person for whom the tomb was intended (no doubt a queen or princess) did not die before the completion of the temple. The idea of making a tomb for her here was given up when the shaft had been partly excavated (cf. No. 6). It may be that this queen, unlike the other princesses, survived the king, and so was not buried here.

No. 9. *Tomb of Kauit.* (Plan and Section, Pl. xi.)—This tomb was made to the south of the western entrance of the inner enclosure.

In type it is similar to No. 7, but the shaft is deeper, being 20 ft. instead of 15 ft. deep. The greater part of the pavement had been removed by the plunderers, with the exception of several blocks at the western end which had been left in position. These were crudely supported by beams of *sont* (acacia) wood wedged into the sides of the shaft. It is certain that we must assign this propping to the later plunderers and not to the original builders of the temple, since the supports would be totally insufficient to bear any considerable weight, such as that of numbers of people passing over, which they would have had to bear had they been part of the original arrangements (not to speak of the column which actually stood right over this shaft; see below); whereas they would amply suffice for the needs of plunderers.

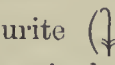
The shafts were probably originally filled in quite solid after the burial had taken place, often, no doubt, in the same way as No. 8. A column of the temple-colonnade had originally stood over the centre of the shaft opening of No. 9, and this enormous weight can scarcely have been entrusted to the feeble support of rough beams of *sont* wood. A filling, either solid like that of No. 8, or, more probably, of boulders and nodules of flint (see below), like those used in the construction of the pyramid-base (see p. 28), must have been used. Later on the column was thrown down, the original filling thrown out, and the tomb violated. Then the shaft got full of the usual temple débris to within six feet of the bottom. From this point it was found by us to be packed tight with heavy lumps or nodules of flint, which kept in place a great slab of blue sandstone blocking the entrance to the chamber. This was the original slab which had been used for the XIth Dynasty burial, and it had been replaced in position by the plunderers when they left. A smaller block had been placed on top of this to completely seal the aperture. The plunderers had also replaced a part of the filling of flint nodules.

On finding this "door" in position we were of course in hope that the original burial would be found intact, but were doomed to disappointment.

The ancient mummy had been searched, but roughly tied up again and left in its limestone sarcophagus.

The sarcophagus, however, amply rewarded our efforts. This great limestone coffin, now in the Cairo Museum, was not made of a single block (as was the case in the tombs on the north), but in sections which fitted into one another with marvellous accuracy, being held in place by bolts, probably of metal, driven through the corners; these had been removed. The base was a single large block of limestone with grooves into which the sides fitted. The lid also of a single piece of stone fitted closely into the top, so that its surface was level with the upper edge of the sides. The whole would consequently form an air-tight box. In the lid four holes were bored, by which the lid could be lowered into position with ropes or bolts. This had been thrown back and stood against the wall. The upper edges of the sides had been somewhat broken in the attempts to remove the lid,

but almost all fragments of importance were recovered.

A broad band of sculpture in *cavo-rilievo* ran round the sides, representing various funerary scenes. These scenes will be described in Chapter IV. Above the scenes runs a single line of inscription—an invocation to the gods of the dead for a good burial and thousands of offerings for the "Priestess of Hathor, the only royal favourite ( ) *Kauit*" (). The lid has a single line of hieroglyphs running down the centre with a similar prayer. (See Pls. xix., xx.)

The whole sarcophagus is a beautiful piece of work and ranks as one of the best pieces of this class of early work known to us, if it is not the very best. Certainly it takes its place in the Cairo Museum as one of the most valuable possessions of that museum.

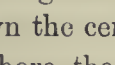
A perfect small model of a wooden coffin, $7\frac{1}{4}$ in. long, was discovered in the rubbish; it was decorated in green paint with a line of hieroglyphs down the centre of the lid and round the sides, and bore the name of the deceased. Inside and originally wrapped in mummy cloth was a small wax figure of a woman with the name *Kauit* written on the breast in hieratic (Pl. xi.). Fragments of another box were also found in the chamber. These models will be further commented on in the description of Tomb 10, where a similar model was also found. Amongst the débris was a beautifully made small diorite vase, two inches in height (Pl. x., fig. 3).

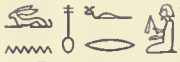
From the fact that a column base had been placed over the shaft opening, we see that some of these tombs were undoubtedly made *before* the completion of the temple, but after its plan had been settled, the platform made, etc.

No. 10. *Tomb of Kemsit.*—This is situated between two columns to the south of No. 9, and the plan is the same as that of the preceding tombs. The pavement had been anciently removed from the mouth, and the shaft was full of the usual rubbish.

The lower part of the well had originally been filled with large lumps of flint as in No. 9. These had been of course shifted by the plunderers, and the great slab of blue sandstone, used for blocking the door of the first burial, had been tilted back.

Numbers of large sun-dried bricks were found in the shaft, which had evidently been formerly placed on the top of the large slab to seal the opening to the chamber completely.

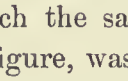
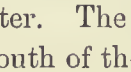
The burial chamber was lined with thin bricks (12 in. × 2 in.) with a white mortar joint, and covered with a smooth layer of the same mortar or plaster, the roof being merely the rough shale. Round the walls, at about one foot from the roof, is a band (2 ft. broad) of painted scenes resembling those depicted on the sarcophagi, the princess in each case being painted black. Along the top of these scenes is a line of hieroglyphs, with the usual funerary formula for the spirit of the "Priestess of Hathor, the only royal favourite *Kemsit*" (). These frescoes will be reproduced in Part II. Only the base of the sarcophagus was found *in situ*, but numerous fragments were discovered in the rubbish of the shaft, which show us that it was painted (and partly sculptured) with the same scenes as that of *Kauit* (No. 9), and the construction had evidently been the same. That is to say, the sides consisted of separate slabs, lowered one by one into the tomb and then joined together. This sarcophagus (see Pls. xxii., xxiii.) will be described in Chapter IV. Twenty-seven of its fragments, which can be more or less pieced together and show connected scenes, have been assigned to the British Museum. To the south of the sarcophagus base were two mummies lying on some two feet of rubbish. One of these, which had been stripped and roughly tied up again, was that of a woman, and undoubtedly Kemsit herself. The head was twisted towards the left, as is usual in the XIth Dynasty (cf. the mummy of the priestess Amenit, also from Deir

el-Bahari, in the Cairo Museum),[1] and, as we should expect from the paintings in the tomb, the skull is negroid in type. This mummy is in the British Museum. The other mummy was wrapped up and quite perfect, but was in no coffin, and probably belongs to the XXth-XXIst Dynasty, being a later burial. Broken *ushabtis* of a person named *Unf* (? for *Unnefer*, ) were found.

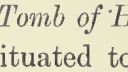
In a hole broken by the plunderers through the plaster in the east wall were found fragments of a small wooden model coffin; and a perfect model, containing a small wax figure wrapped in mummy cloth, like that found in the tomb of Kauit (see also above), but uninscribed, was found in the rubbish on the floor (Pl. ix., fig. 8). These model coffins were decorated with a blue line of hieroglyphs—a prayer for the spirit of *Kemsit* (cf. Pl. xi.). Two such models with wax figures were probably placed in each of these XIth Dynasty tombs. They were, to all intents and purposes, *ushabtis*. A box of much the same type, but broader and without a figure, was found in the great royal tomb usually called the *Bâb el-Hosân* (see p. 9), by Mr. Carter. The bones of a cow were found near the mouth of the shaft, as in Tomb No. 5 (see above), and somewhat lower down was found a fragment from a limestone statuette of a man named Amenemhat (XVIIIth Dynasty), which was probably thrown in, after the second burial, from the temple above, where several statues of officials were placed from the time of the XIIth to that of the XIXth Dynasty.

No. 11. *Tomb of Henhenit.* (Plan and Section, Pl. xi.)—Situated to the south of No. 10, this tomb had originally been under one of the columns of the temple.

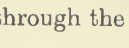
The pavement had been removed, but when we discovered the shaft it had been blocked up by the fall, from the temple above, of a piece of a large sixteen-sided column (XVIIIth Dynasty). The shaft was full of the débris of the temple. The entrance to the chamber had been formerly closed by two large blocks of sandstone, which had been only slightly shifted by the plunderers to allow of the passage of a man's body into the interior.

Within the chamber was a long limestone sarcophagus of the same type and construction as that of *Kauit*, with the exception that the long sides, the lid, and the base were each made of two slabs instead of one, which, of course, greatly facilitated its removal, also on the top of the longer side slabs were placed long pieces of stone with the grooves for the lid. It was, however, incomplete since the only ornamentation outside was a line of hieroglyphs painted green, and two *uza* eyes on the east side without the customary scenes. On the inside was the usual line of hieroglyphs, outlined in black, containing the  formula for the *ka* of the royal favourite and priestess *Henhenit*,  . (See p. 56.)

The lid had been broken into three pieces, which lay on the rubbish accumulation at the bottom of the chamber.

Fragments of a large square wooden coffin were found in the shaft, with a line of hieroglyphs painted in green on a white ground; this, like the sarcophagus, bore the name of Henhenit, priestess of Hathor, and only royal favourite  .

Within the sarcophagus was the mummy of a woman, no doubt Henhenit, lying on the cloth wrappings. Her hands and feet are small and delicately formed, her hair short and straight (Pl. xl., fig. 8; photograph by Mr. J. G. Milne). This is a very interesting mummy. It and the sarcophagus have been assigned to the Metropolitan Museum of New York.

[1] The idea seems to have been that the deceased should look through the two great eyes  which are always painted or sculptured on one side of the coffins and sarcophagi of this epoch.—H. H.

The chamber had been made on too small a scale for the sarcophagus, and a portion of the south wall had been subsequently cut away.

No. 12. This tomb is smaller than the three preceding, the shaft being less than 16 ft. in depth by 8 ft. in width, as was the case in Tomb No. 7. The reason is that these two tombs are partly blocked from greater breadth extension by their proximity to the low parapet which runs just behind them.

The door of the chamber was found to be blocked with a fine slab of limestone (possibly broken from the XIth Dynasty sarcophagus), a piece of a later statuette (name *Userhat*), and several pieces of stone.

The chamber contained no sarcophagus, and in the centre, on a heap of mummy cloth, lay the mummy of a woman, and near by was a piece of cartonnage.

This was probably a secondary burial, since, had the object of opening the tomb been merely plunder (as in No. 9), we should have found fragments of the sarcophagus. The later burial seems to have been plundered again at a still more recent period.

E. R. A.

No. 13. (Plan and Section, Pl. xi.)—In Southern Court, opened December, 1905. A chamber-tomb of the same type as the foregoing, but more roughly made. Completely plundered and empty.

It would appear that this tomb was made before the construction of the temple, and it may possibly date to the time of the Old Kingdom. It is probably the most ancient tomb yet found at Deir el-Bahari.

As has been said in the description of the Southern Court (p. 38), the tomb existed before the Southern Court of the Temple was excavated between the pyramid-platform and the hillside. In the course of Neb-ḥepet-Rā's work this tomb-shaft was encountered and was necessarily shorn of half its depth, the tomb, no doubt, being plundered at the same time. As has been said also, the shaft lay exactly athwart the line of the necessary trench made at the foot of the hillside in order to hold the foundation-blocks of a masking or retaining-wall. Hence the present ground-level at the south end of the shaft is 1 ft. 6 in. lower than the ground-level at the north end. A little brick wall was built up (apparently at the time of the XIth Dynasty, since the bricks are the same as those of the entrance-sealings of the XIth Dynasty tombs) in order to "make up" the tomb to look symmetrical and level when the shaft was filled after the court had been levelled. The sketch on Pl. xi. shows how the tomb was cut down when the court was made.

The original depth of the shaft must have been about 25 ft.; its present depth is 8 ft. 6 in. to 9 ft.; length, 6 ft. 9 in.; width, 3 ft. 6 in. The irregularly-shaped chamber measures 8 ft. 7 in. by 7 ft. 9 in., and is only 3 ft. 7 in. high. The entrance is not in the centre; on one side of it the chamber wall measures 4 ft. 6 in. long, and the other 2 ft. 3 in. The entrance is 2 ft. wide; its height is the same as that of the chamber. Close by is the small wavy or crinkly wall mentioned on p. 38, which is probably of XIth Dynasty date, and may not improbably be connected in some way with this tomb, as the small brick *ghafir's* hut (?) in the North Court (p. 20) was, no doubt, connected with the tombs in that court. The large brick chambers in the South Court, which lie a few feet east of Tomb No. 13, are, however, probably not connected with the tombs, as they are of later date (see p. 38).

No. 14. [This number was appropriated to the tomb-like subterranean *ka*-sanctuary in the Western Court before its probable nature as a cenotaph was known. The descending approach to this is therefore called on the plan published with this volume, "Dromos of Tomb 14."]

No. 15. A *bâb* or gallery-tomb, like the *Bâb-*

el-Hosân and "No. 14," but very much smaller than these, situated at the S.W. angle of the Western Court. This was apparently found by Lord Dufferin in 1859, and its entrance was visible before the beginning of the present excavations (see p. 12). The dromos and the tomb itself were, however, entirely filled with rubbish, which we cleared out, in order to investigate it. In the chamber the rubbish had become hardened by water which had got in while the tomb lay open. Full details and measurements of this tomb will be given in Part II. The burial had been violated, nothing being found but a great alabaster sarcophagus, three times the usual size, without incised inscriptions.

No. 16. A small chamber-tomb, with a pit, of the usual type, at the N.W. angle of the Western Court. The pit is 7 ft. long, 3 ft. wide, and 6 ft. 6 in. deep. The chamber is 6 ft. long, 4 ft. 6 in. wide, and only 3 ft. high. Violated, and entirely empty.

H. H.

CHAPTER IV.

THE SARCOPHAGI OF THE PRINCESSES.

By Edouard Naville.

The tombs in which the princesses were buried have been described in the preceding chapter. With each tomb was connected a chapel or shrine. Of these we believe we can trace six. Many fragments of these shrines have been preserved. They have been collected, and compared, and if possible one of the shrines will be reconstructed for the second part of this book; but at present we have not yet ascertained the precise dimensions of all and their exact shape, so that their description also must be deferred to the next volume.

In these tombs we found three stone sarcophagi of a type characteristic of that epoch. They are of limestone, and probably contained in every case a coffin made of wood or of cartonnage. Of the most perfect, that of Kemsit, only small pieces remain, which, however, could to some extent be pieced together to be copied.[1] This work was done by Madame Naville (Pl. xxii. and xxiii.).

As the tombs were small, and the pit leading to the chamber very narrow, these coffins were not lowered into the grave in one piece. Each side was a separate stone, and they were put together in the chamber. The coffin of Kauit is made of six pieces, one for each side, the bottom, and the lid. It is now put together in the Museum at Cairo. In the coffin of Henhenit, now at New York, the long sides are in two halves, so that it consists of eight pieces.

These coffins are examples of three different degrees of completeness in workmanship, and that of Kemsit was, as has been said, the finest. The outside was sculptured, and after the engraving had been finished it was painted. In the inside there is no sculpture, only painting. The coffin of Kauit is completely sculptured. It was finished not long before it was used for the deceased. The ink outline drawn for the engraver is still discernible. There is no painting whatever; inside, the inscription is simply drawn in black.

As for that of Henhenit, there is no sculpture at all other than the inscription and the great eyes at the side. The cutting of the hieroglyphs of the inscription is unfinished, part of them being painted only, and the inside is blank.

The scenes which are represented on these sarcophagi remind one of the tombs of the Old Empire; the religious texts which cover the wooden coffins of the deceased of the XIIth Dynasty are still absent. We must compare the sarcophagi of Kemsit and Kauit with what we find at Gizeh or Sakkarah, with the tomb-walls covered with apparent representations of the present life. There the man is described as having obtained all the enjoyments which riches and high social standing may bring him. He is seen supervising his labourers in the fields, the hunters and fishermen who provide for his table game and fish, all the slaves who have to work for

[1] Altogether several hundred small fragments of the sarcophagus were recovered. The larger ones, which alone could be pieced together, twenty-seven in number, are now in the British Museum.

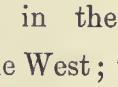
him, the herds of cattle and flocks of fowls which fill his farms.

It had long been thought that these were descriptions of his life on earth. Mariette was the first to show that as they were all alike for all, they must rather be considered as descriptions of the life which the deceased was to enjoy in the next world. That life was supposed to be a repetition of what was held to be happiness in this world.

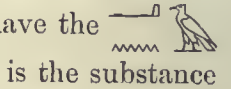
Mariette's point of view is all the more justified since we have here examples of what has been called the magical power of imitation. The best, the surest way of granting to the deceased this happy life is to represent it in painting or sculpture. The fact of something being represented causes it to exist. This is the light in which we are to look at the scenes on the coffins of the XIth Dynasty. For the first time we have found coffins not covered with religious texts, but with scenes of the ordinary life; and we may suppose that the offerings which are made to the princess, the granaries where her food is stored, the cows which provide her with milk, are part of the riches and plenty which she is fancied to enjoy in the other world.

We shall begin the description of these sarcophagi with that of Kauit (Pl. xx.), the preservation of which is perfect. Kauit was, like most of the other princesses, "the royal favourite, the only one, the priestess of Hathor." At the same time she is said to be "beloved of the great god, the lord of the sky."

The formula in the upper line of each side is that which is found also on the tablets. An offering is made to a god, but not for him; it is for the princess, in favour of the princess. The god is a mere medium, who has to hand over to the deceased what has been given him.

On the left side the god is Osiris, "the lord of Busiris, who resides in the Ament, the lord of Abydos in all his good abodes." We must not take the names of Busiris and Abydos in their strict sense, as belonging to the terrestrial geography; they are two regions of the sky. , as may be seen in the vignette of Chapter XV. of the Book of the Dead, is a place where the sun rises, and where the deceased, like the sun, receives life and breath. It is clearly in the East, while  , Abydos is in the West; these two names together, which are found on nearly all stelae, mean in the formula as much as "East and West." The offerings consist of pure water, "a funereal meal, a thousand cakes, beer-vases, calves, geese, a thousand rolls of cloth, a thousand of all good things to the beloved of the great god the lord of the sky, the royal favourite, the only one, the priestess of Hathor, Kauit."

On the right side the god to whom the offering is made is "Anubis on his mountain," who is also called *Amut*, when he has the appearance of a skin on a pole. Besides his other gifts he grants to the princess "a good burial in the land of the West, in the tomb in the Underworld."

This coffin is an abridged representation of the abode of the priestess in the other world; at the same time it is also her coffin, for the two large eyes which we see on the left side are supposed to be those of the deceased looking through the stone. On both sides we have doors leading into various parts of the abode of the princess. On the small side preceding the long one on the left, we see the offerings made in the *Pa Duat*, a room sometimes very narrow, where the dressing of the god took place, and where ointments and scented oils were brought to him. We see very nearly the same thing at Deir el-Bahari in the , which is in the upper court[1]; five kinds of ointment are brought in both places, only the middle one differs. At Deir el-Bahari we have the  *ani* of Punt; here in its place is the substance called . Besides there are two kinds of

[1] Illustrated in *Deir el-Bahari* V., pl. cxxx.

balms, brought by one man; balm of acacia and balm of (?).

The box in front of the attendants may have contained either the clothing or precious stones and jewels. There are five of them in the of Deir el-Bahari.

The large door on the left side seems to give access to a chamber where the princess is completing her toilet. A maid places a pin in her hair; the princess has a mirror in one hand, and with the other she holds up to her mouth a cup which has just been filled by the attendant before her, who says, "It is for thee, princess; drink what I give thee." This must be milk provided by a cow close by, which an attendant is milking; her calf is tied to her foreleg. We must notice a tear which drops from the eye of the cow.

These cows, of which there are two, on this as well as on the other side, belong to two different breeds. One is hornless; it is a kind of animal still found in Africa at the present day. From the painted coffin of Kemsit we can see that this breed was white with black spots (Pl. xxii.), blue being used here as a conventional colour for black. The cow with long horns has a brown hide.

On the right side we have again a door with two leaves, leading right and left. The door lintel is adorned with symbolical ornaments, , Osiris, , Isis, and small hawk heads which are Horus. Again we see the princess at her toilet; she takes with her hand some of the scented oil which her maid presents her. The maid holds a long feather, probably for fanning the princess. In that chamber we see her jewels, a pectoral, necklaces, and bracelets, and the casket which is to contain them. To the right of the door the princess appears eating; she has taken a cake or a loaf from the huge heap of victuals which is in front of her, and as she is eating and not drinking, it is not necessary to milk the cows.

On the small side, near the feet, are represented all the granaries with the bags which are being emptied. A scribe puts down the quantities which are brought, and an agent called Antef supervises what is being done. A staircase leads to a pavilion where the princess sits, as the King does in his *Sed* festival,[1] when her farmers and vassals bring their taxes and contributions in kind, to which she is entitled, and which are fixed periodically.

On the lid the god is Anubis, the "lord of Sep residing in the Ament, the lord of Abydos." These two last titles are exactly like those of Osiris.

Inside there never was any sculpture; the inscriptions were only painted. On the long faces there are repetitions of the outside; on the small sides it is said that the funeral meals and offerings are given to Kauit once by Nephthys, and the other time by , Isis.

More interesting still than that of Kauit would have been the coffin of , Kemsit, if it had been found complete (Pl. xxii. and xxiii.). It was perfect; it was not only sculptured, but also painted; inside there was colour only. It is now in small fragments, of which a considerable number are wanting. Those that remain have been put together, and since the colours have been preserved most vividly, the partial reconstruction has been reproduced, for we derive important information from the colours. As has been said, these fragments of this important monument have been presented to the British Museum, where they bear the number 43037. The princess herself is seen only on a fragment of the inside (Pl. xxiii.), in the British Museum. She is black; it seems very likely that she was a negress. The skull of one of the mummies found in the tomb with the fragments of the coffin is of decidedly negro type. It is probably that of the princess (see p. 49).

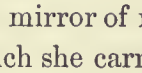
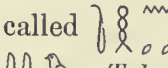
[1] Leps., *Denkm.* iii., pll. 76 and 77.

On the fragment where she is seen two female attendants bring her basins which probably contain milk. One of them says to her, "This is for thee, princess; drink, and be satisfied." Above her head her titles are as usual; she is priestess of Hathor, "who loves her father, and who is his favourite every day."

As for the scenes depicted on the coffin, they are very like those on that of Kauit. We find the two doors with the two eyes. Evidently the princess was represented attiring herself. A servant (Pl. xxiii.) brings to her a mirror of red copper or bronze, and a casket, which she carries on her head, and which contains her jewels. She also had granaries, and an agent who oversaw them; his name is not preserved.

Again we find the two breeds of cows, the red cow with long horns, and the spotted hornless cow. The hornless cow alone is milked, while the red one sometimes suckles the spotted hornless calf. This would show that the milk of the red cow was not considered as food for the princess. Among the offerings on small tables there are stuffed animals (Pl. xxii.), which I suppose to be hyaenas. We know from the tombs of the Old Empire that the hyaena was considered a choice food for the deceased.

But what is most striking in these paintings is the colours of the attendants. Some of them are of a reddish brown, the ordinary colour given to the Egyptians, and others are light yellow, like the women. As far as we can judge from the very fragmentary state of the stone, the chief attendants, those who would have the highest offices, like the overseer of the granaries, or the man who brings two purses, , probably of precious stones or metal, are red Egyptians, while the yellow people are those who bring the ointments, the scented oils of the , the dressing-house of the dead. It often occurs in the tombs of the Old Empire that the women are painted light yellow, like these men. It has been explained by the fact that the women, being supposed to keep indoors more than the men, were less sunburnt, and lighter in colour; but this explanation could hardly be accepted in the present case. I believe we must see here two different races, the red ones are the Egyptian conquerors,[1] the yellow ones the old African (Libyan) stock.

According to Lepsius this yellow colour was called  *tehen*, therefore the  *Teheniu*, the African nation against which one of the Mentuheteps had to fight was the nation of the "Yellows," or, as we should say, the "Whites." Another African nation, the *Tamahu*, very often mentioned with the Teheniu, is decidedly white in the conventional representation of the four races.[2] It seems to me that in this picture on the sarcophagus of Kemsit we have a reminiscence of the fact that the Egyptian nation was formed of an African native element mingled with foreign invaders.

The third coffin of the XIth Dynasty (Pl. xxi.) which we discovered is severely plain. As has been said above, it bears merely an inscription half-sculptured, half-painted, besides the two eyes of the deceased. There is no other ornamentation whatever. The inscriptions are absolutely the same as those of the coffin of Kauit. It belongs to "the royal favourite, the only one, the priestess of Hathor Henhenit." A curious fact is that the head of the sign is generally cut off and separated from the body; it is even sometimes on a different line. As noted before, the long sides are in two pieces; box and lid consist of eight stones.

[1] See *La Religion des anciens Égyptiens*, 1ère conférenee.
[2] Leps., *Denkm.* iii., pl. 136.

CHAPTER V.

THE XIIth DYNASTY AND THE WORSHIP OF NEB-HEPET-RA.

By Edouard Naville.

In the winter of 1905, while clearing the Southern Court which divides the platform from the rock, we came across six natural sized torsos of statues of the XIIth Dynasty, in black granite, all belonging to the same king, Usertsen III. ( ). They are all broken from the knees downwards; the feet of one only have been discovered, and two of the torsos are headless. As for the four torsos that have been preserved with the heads, one is in the Cairo Museum, the other three are in the British Museum (Pl. xix.).

They are of natural size, not absolutely similar in features and expression, as if the king had been sculptured at different ages. We have in them very good specimens of the Theban school of work, and of a thoroughly Egyptian type of face. Another one, of the same type and belonging to the same school, was found not very long ago by M. Legrain, at Karnak. It is in red granite, but the likeness to the statues of Deir el-Bahari is very striking.

The king had, in fact, erected a gallery of his own statues in the temple of Mentuhetep II. These statues were barbarously broken and thrown down into the court at a later date. They must have been broken before falling into the court, as otherwise we should have found the fragments now lost.

Usertsen III. was certainly one of the most powerful kings of the XIIth Dynasty. The beautiful pectoral found at Dahshûr shows him destroying Negroes and Libyans. In the Delta it is he who raised the granite-columned hall with Hathor capitals at Bubastis. There are various statues of him in European museums.

BRIT. MUS. No. 926.

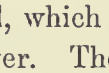
It is certain that he found the worship of Mentuhetep II. already established in the temple. An inscription discovered last winter by M. Legrain at Karnak reads as follows:—

. "The King Khā-nefer-Rā (Sebekhetep III. of the XIIIth Dynasty) erected his constructions to the King Neb-hepet-Rā, renewing what had been done by King Khā-kau-Rā (Usertsen III.) and King Khā-kheper-Rā (Usertsen II.) his father."

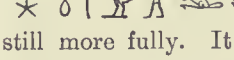
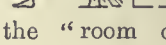
Thus the father of Usertsen III. had already begun to offer to Mentuhetep what the inscription calls , which are mostly statues or tables of offerings, gifts made to the god, which always must bear the name of the giver. The king does so because he considers his predecessor Mentuhetep a real god like Amon.

We have not found anything of what Usertsen II. did for Mentuhetep. Usertsen III. wished evidently to emphasize as much as possible the religious character of the king of the XIth Dynasty. No doubt Neb-hepet-Rā very soon after his death was placed among the gods to whom a regular worship was offered. Although every king was a divine being, he was a greater god than the other kings of his family, and, like Amenhetep I. after him, was the object of a special veneration.

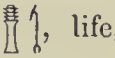
We do not know to what circumstance he owed his pre-eminence—probably to the fact of his having restored Egypt to its former extent and power, to his having been a kind of second Mena. Usertsen III. was one of his most faithful worshippers. He offered him in his funerary temple six of his own statues as a gift, and he did more: at the western end of the temple, close to the entrance of the long passage leading to a subterranean sanctuary, which has quite lately been excavated, he erected a large stele, which was discovered a few days before we closed the work in March, 1906 (Pl. xxiv.). This stele, in red granite and of a height of 1 m. 60, is now in the Cairo Museum. It is quite possible that it stood in some sort of shrine or sanctuary which has been destroyed. The back bears traces of another stelé which had been raised against it. The top line is formed by a very long cartouche containing all the constituent parts of Usertsen's name. This comprehensive cartouche occurs frequently at the time of the Middle Kingdom.

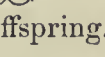
Under the cartouche are two scenes exactly alike. On the left Usertsen stands before Amon, on the right before Neb-hepet-Rā. To both of them he presents a heap of offerings of all sorts of food and drink. The gift is made by his touching  the offerings three or four times with his mace. The two gods are exactly in the same position. Neb-hepet-Rā wears the double crown, showing that he was lord over the two parts of Egypt. Usertsen is followed by *his living ka*, his protector, the presence of whom is necessary to his life. This *ka* is called , the divine form.

Under the scenes of offerings are two horizontal lines referring to Usertsen, "Life, duration, and happiness are before the feet of this good god, the *ṭuat-rekhiu* live every day; he will last through millions of *Sed* periods in very great numbers." These are the usual promises made to the king by the gods, with the mention that the *ṭuat-rekhiu* [1] are living. These words refer to beings which are often represented under the throne of the king, plovers with raised human arms perching on the sign , the basket, and generally followed by the words , "they are living." No satisfactory explanation can yet be given of this group,

[1] This line gives us the phonetic reading of the group:  . The Abbott Papyrus gives it still more fully. It speaks of a  , the "room of the *ṭuat-rekhitu*," on the walls of which, probably, these beings were represented (Maspero, *Procès judiciaire*, p. 51).

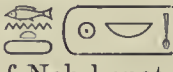
which occurs frequently in the temple of Hatshepsu.[1] I still believe, as I said before, that the group refers to the measurement of time; it is symbolical of a long period which Lepsius, Brugsch and Mahler consider to be the phoenix period. These words mean that the dominion of the king is well established as long as the plovers (*ṭuat-rekhiu*) live, as long as there will be phoenix periods. It seems to be equivalent to a great number of *Sed* periods.

Perhaps also we may consider the *ṭuat-rekhiu* as genii who ensure to the king  , life, duration, and happiness, just as the presence of his *ka* is his safeguard.

The first line of the vertical inscription gives the full name of the king. First comes his *ka* name, then the words preceded by *nebti*, which are  , "the divine offspring." The name is , "the scarab." Then comes the text, which reads as follows:—

"Royal decree to the prophet of Amon, and
"to the haruspices, in the temple
"of Amon at Thebes, and to the herald, the
"priests, the heads of the gardens
"the haruspices in the temple of King Neb-hepet-
"Ra, the victorious, in the cave of Neb-hepet-
"Ra:
"His divine Majesty ordered that should be
"fixed the divine offerings to King Neb-hepet-
"Ra,
"to the amount of loaves fifty, round cakes
"fifty, beer three jugs, out of the baking house
"of his own divine offerings
"regularly every day; and that there should be
"brought to him offerings
"out of the food-store of the temple of Amon,
"ten loaves, and two jugs of beer
"regularly every day over and above what there
"was before,
"and that should be brought to him roast meat,
"whenever a bull should be sacrificed
"in the temple of Amon, the lord of the thrones
"of the two lands who resides at Thebes. This
"was done by His Majesty
"in order to increase the offerings to his fore-
"father King Neb-hepet-Ra, the victorious,
"who will give to King Khā-kau-Ra life,
"stability, happiness, health and his joy, on the
"throne of Horus, like Ra eternally."

The sense of this inscription is very clear. The temple of Mentuhetep II. has a college of priests of various orders. For the food of the god, or rather of his priests, the baking house has to turn out every day fifty loaves, fifty round cakes, and three vases of beer; but it is not enough. The temple of Amon, on the Eastern side, has to contribute ten loaves and two vases of beer every day, above what was down before. Besides, whenever a bull should be slaughtered there, some roast meat was to be brought over. Surely that indicates that Mentuhetep was the object of very great veneration, since the great god of Thebes himself was also to pay him his tribute of offerings.

We learn from this stele the name of the sanctuary in which the offerings were made. It is called  , the valley, or rather the cave, of Neb-hepet-Ra. This name occurs only in this place, on this stele discovered at the entrance of the sloping passage, the end of which has just been excavated. On the stele there is nothing referring to a tomb. From this already we could conclude that this passage led to a subterranean sanctuary and not to a funerary chamber.

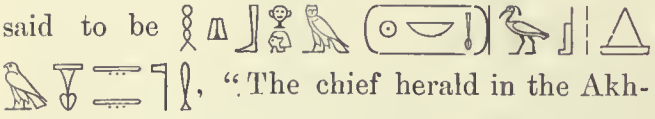
Curiously enough, what Usertsen did for Mentuhetep was also done for himself by one of his later successors, Thothmes III. In the temple at Semneh,[2] which evidently was founded by the king of the XIIth Dynasty, not only did Thothmes renew in stone what he says he had

[1] *Deir el Bahari*, III., pll. 66 and 85, IV., pl. 110; Leps., *Denkm.* iii., pll. 76 and 77, etc.; Nav., *The Festival Hall*, pll. ii., vi., p. 7.

[2] Leps., *Denkm.*, iii. 47—57.

found made of brick, but he established the worship of Usertsen III., and fixed the offerings which had to be made to him. Usertsen is seen there associated with Dedun, the god of Nubia, exactly as Mentuhetep is associated with Amon.

We have no information about the worship of Neb-hepet-Ra under the kings of the XIth Dynasty, his immediate followers; but no doubt Usertsen pursued a tradition which had been established before him, soon after Neb-hepet-Ra's death.

Another monument of the XIIth Dynasty[1] mentions the worship of Mentuhetep II. It is a stele found by Mariette at Abydos, and made for a man called . He is said to be  , "The chief herald in the Akh-Asu (the temple with its pyramid) of Neb-hepet-Ra, and the prophet of , Hor-sam-taui," who must not be considered as the god of this name, but as the king himself deified, whose *ka* name is the same as that of the god.

One of the Sebekhoteps of the XIIIth Dynasty renewed what Usertsen II. and III. had done. We know this from the inscription discovered by M. Legrain. But it is chiefly the Theban princes of the great Dynasties XVIII. and XIX. who seem to have been worshippers of Mentuhetep. This is natural, if it was he who chose Thebes as his capital, and who thus was the real founder of the Theban monarchy. To him was to be traced originally the great power which this city attained, and also the pre-eminence which the worship of Amon enjoyed after him.

It is one of the first kings of the XVIIIth Dynasty, Amenhetep I., who, as far as we know, did again for Mentuhetep what Usertsen had done before. He consecrated here several of his own statues to the king. One of them has come down to us nearly intact. It is now in the British Museum (Pl. xxv. aa). It was found near the ramp leading to the platform (see p. 26). It is 9 ft. 2 in. high, made of sandstone, and painted. The king wears the double crown, the lower one being red and the upper one white. The whole attitude is that of the Osirian statues which occur in the temples; the emblems which the figure held in its hands have disappeared. This statue gives us the *ka* name of the king, *Ka-uaf-tau* (?), which was only known before from M. Legrain's work at Karnak,[2] and the sense of which appears to be, "Bull, taming the lands." A stele, which unfortunately is not complete, shows this statue of Amenhetep, with another, and also that of Mentuhetep (Pl. xxv. b). Amenhetep's figure, wearing the double crown, and standing in the same attitude as the colossus of the British Museum, but with a slightly shorter dress (the *sed-heb*, not the Osirian, robe), is seen before a garden in which are planted four trees. Behind him stands a statue of Neb-hepet-Ra, whose name is written , wearing the crown of Lower Egypt. Opposite these two statues is Amenhetep I. again this time with the crown of Upper Egypt, and behind him a king whose name has been omitted, but evidently is again Neb-hepet-Ra. The four statues are clothed with the short dress of the Sed festival, but in spite of this difference in detail, there is little doubt that they represent a row of colossi, of which the British Museum statue is one.[3]

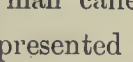
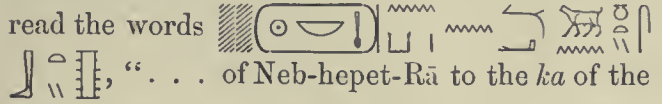
These figures give us a curious example of the

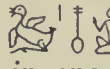
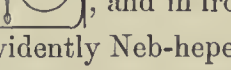
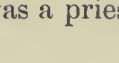
[1] Mariette, *Catalogue*, No. 605.

[2] *Annales du Service*, 1904, p. 182.

[3] The broken companion figures found near by wear the *sed-heb* costume.

way in which the Egyptians represented foreshortening. The statues are leaning, like the statue in London, against a thick slab, the thickness of which is seen; but the engraver of the stele shows the bodies of the kings as if they were separated from the slabs. They are seen from in front, while the heads are still in profile. He evidently desired that the position of the hands and the emblems they were holding should appear; it would not have been the same if the statues had stood regularly and correctly in profile; the elbows would have concealed the hands. This stele accompanies the statue represented on it in the British Museum (No. 690). Several headless statues, in the same attitude, and, like those on the stele, in the *sed-heb* costume, have been found during the excavations and close to the temple.

It is chiefly under the XVIIIth Dynasty that the worship of Neb-hepet-Rā seems to have been flourishing. Several steles have been found in which the king is mentioned or which belong to his worship. In one of them (Pl. xxvi. a), which is certainly later than the XIth Dynasty, Neb-hepet-Rā is seen worshipping Amon, Mut, and Khonsu; behind him are two goddesses, one of whom is Hathor. On another one (id., b) we see a man named Zanefer, who is priest of Amon as well as of Mentuhetep. Another whose name is destroyed is said to be a priest of Neb-hepet-Rā (id., c). On a fragment of a stele a priestess of Amon brings offerings to Menthu "in Zesret" and to Neb-hepet-Rā (illustrated on p. 57). I mentioned before a fragment of a statue of a man called  (id., d, e, f). He is represented as a sitting scribe, who holds before his knees two naked men. On the right leg we read the words  , ". . . of Neb-hepet-Rā to the *ka* of the head of the inner palace, Sobti." I should think that the cartouche was connected with the name of a temple, or with some religious employment, as every official of high standing had a rank in the priesthood, otherwise his appointment seems to have been chiefly military, ". . . of Menthu. the governor of Thebes, the fan-bearer, the head of the store-house, the commander of the Negro troops, the bearer of the standard of the prince of princes, the bearer of the standard of Eastern Thebes, the bearer of the standard. . . ." On the left leg it is said that he is , "governor of Thebes." It is not impossible that this monument belongs to a date earlier than the XVIIIth Dynasty; it may be XIIth or XIIIth.

Neb-hepet-Rā was also connected with the worship of Hathor. We have found several specimens of pieces of cloth on which Hathor is seen issuing from her sanctuary, and coming down to the river, among the papyrus plants. Most of those we found are in a very bad state, and the drawing is hardly recognisable, except one or two quite good ones which are mentioned below. A good one, which evidently was found in the neighbourhood of the temple, belongs to Mr. de Rustafjaell.[1] There the cow is worshipped by a man called Zanefer,  , perhaps the same who is mentioned in one of the steles (Pl. xxvi. b) we have just been considering.[2] He is followed by his wife, his wife's mother, three sons, and a daughter. Under the head of the cow is  , and in front is the standing king. It is evidently Neb-hepet-Rā, with an inversion of the signs in the cartouche. It is not possible to see whether the same king is being suckled by the goddess. If this cloth or the statue of the goddess had been consecrated by a king, he would have put himself under the cow's head. But this cloth being made for a private man, the king mentioned in connection with the goddess is he who was the special god of the place, and of whom  was a priest as well as of Amon.[3]

[1] *The Connoisseur*, April, 1906, p. 238.

[2] A small black granite pyramidion bearing this man's name was found in the first season's work. It is now in the British Museum, No. 493.

[3] The two good cloths mentioned as found by us are in the British Museum, Nos. 43215, 43216. On them

The XIXth Dynasty kept up the worship of Mentuhetep. In two tombs which seem to belong to that time he is mentioned with Aahmes and Amenhetep I. As for Rameses II. in the great festival which he caused to be represented in the Ramesseum, and where the statues of several of his predecessors are carried on the shoulders of the priests, the statue of Neb-hepet-Ra comes between Mena and Aahmes the liberator, near whom is Amenhetep I. No doubt, even as late as Rameses II., he was revered as one of the sovereigns to whom Egypt was indebted for her existence and her power.

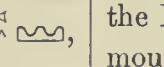
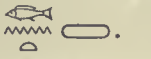
Neb-hepet-Ra does not appear. On one we have a row of five women bringing offerings to the Hathor-cow; on the other a woman named Nub-em-ari, above whom is the inscription , worshipping Hathor in human form seated on a throne.

CHAPTER VI.

THE HATHOR SHRINE.

By Edouard Naville.

The plan shows where the kings of the XVIIIth Dynasty erected a sanctuary to the goddess Hathor in the north corner of the XIth Dynasty temple. The worship of the goddess here was certainly very ancient even in the time of the XIth Dynasty. We saw before that all the princesses were called her priestesses, at the same time as they were royal favourites. In the inscriptions of the mastabas of the Old Empire the goddess is often mentioned, and the title of priest of Hathor is of very frequent occurrence.

However, at present we have not yet found a part of the temple of the XIth Dynasty which was specially dedicated to her. It may have been in the back part of the temple, since Hathor is the goddess coming out of the  , and we saw that the sanctuary of Mentuhetep II. was called  . It is not probable that Amon alone was worshipped here in the time of the XIth Dynasty.

As for the sovereigns of the XVIIIth, we know that they were fervent worshippers of Hathor. In the temple of Hatshepsu there was a sanctuary of Hathor which originally was a cave, where, according to tradition, the queen had been suckled by the goddess. It was in the southern part of the temple, just above that of the XIth Dynasty, and built partly over the enclosure wall. In the back room were preserved the sacred emblems of the goddess, cows probably made of gold or valuable stones. It is possible that the beautiful alabaster head of a cow found in 1904 (Pl. xxv. *c*), and now in the British Museum, was part of one of them, which was broken and thrown into the lower edifice.

Thothmes III. did not usurp the sanctuary which had been built by his aunt, where he was represented behind her, in the second rank, as everywhere in the temple at Deir el-Bahari. He built one in the old temple of Mentuhetep. Hathor being a goddess who comes out of a mountain, it was necessary to have a cave; therefore it was cut in the rock, in the north-western corner of the temple, which originally was symmetrical to the south-western, and where the rock followed an oblique direction between the dromos leading up to the cliffs and the Northern Court. A triangle was cut in the mountain, down to a level 3 ft. above the old temple, making thus a platform lined on the north and on the west by vertical rock-facings. This platform was prolonged over the limestone enclosure-wall so as to make room for a fore-hall, to which evidently access was given by a stairway or ramp leading to a door (see p. 36). One of the doorposts was also partly preserved. It bears hieratic graffiti, with *proskynêmata* to Amon and Hathor, and part of it is now at Tokyo. In the forehall was little but a mound of rubbish and the crouching statue in black syenite of a scribe called *Nezem*, who lived under Menephtah and Rameses III. (New York).

When the rubbish was cleared, we could see on the floor of the forehall the traces of walls, which seemed to indicate that there had been

two small chambers separated by a passage leading from the door to the cave in the middle of the rock-facing opposite. These chambers have entirely disappeared. Not one single block of the walls has been found; they must all have been carried away when the temple was used as a quarry. Also the blocks which covered the rock-facings on the West and on the North have been removed, except the lower layer, and even that is not complete.

It is all the more remarkable that the shrine of Hathor has been preserved nearly intact, and especially that the cow has not been injured. There has certainly been a fall of rubbish from the North, which closed the entrance, and saved the goddess. But when this fall took place the walls of the chambers and of the facings had already been carried away; the sanctuary of the goddess alone had been respected.

The shrine is a cave about 10 ft. long and 8 ft. high. It is hewn in a rock of a marly nature which could not be cut to a smooth face. Therefore it has been lined all round with slabs of sandstone, on which the sculptures were executed. The roof is a vault consisting of two stones abutting against each other, and cut in the form of an arch. There never was any pavement; the cow stood on the rough rock.

Originally the shrine was closed by a rectangular door. We found a fragment of the lintel bearing the name of Thothmes III. The slab over the doorway has disappeared, as well as the walls of the forehall, on both sides of the door. The entrance is the only part of the shrine which is damaged.

There is no doubt that the chapel is the work of Thothmes III. I should think that he built it towards the end of his reign. On the left side of the entrance he is followed by his queen, *Merit Ra*. No other personage seems to have been represented. We know, from the king's tomb, that Merit Ra survived him. She is the same who is called in the temple of Medinet Habu, *Hatshepsu Merit Ra*. But towards the end of the reign of Thothmes III. she seems to have dropped from her name the *Hatshepsu* and to have been called only Merit Ra.

Thothmes III. (Pl. xxviii.) stands with his queen before an enormous heap of offerings, which he presents to the goddess. These offerings are of the usual type, quantities of cakes, vegetables, fruits, with a few pieces of meat. The goddess thanks him in promising to the king all the life, joy, happiness, and health which she has in her power.

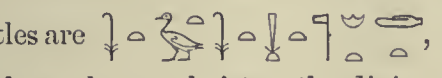
The goddess is painted very much as she is in the statue, except that she is of a light yellow colour, and has no plants along the neck and shoulders. She steps out of a pavilion which seems to be made of a coloured cloth. The lunar disk is between her horns; she suckles a little boy who is represented also as a grown-up king under her head. She wears a thick necklace of the kind called *menat*. Its lower part surrounds the neck of the king.

Neither the child nor the man has a name; but there is no doubt that in both cases they represent the king who dedicated the chapel. We have a positive proof of it in the temple of Hatshepsu, where we find a similar representation.[1] Here the cow is also in a pavilion, but she stands on a boat, and the child and the man both have the name of the queen.

Behind the sanctuary is another scene, where Thothmes III. appears alone, with hanging arms in the attitude of prayer. He is worshipping the goddess, who is in the form of a standing woman with horns, between which is the disk. This scene closes the representations on the left side of the chapel.

On the right they are exactly similar, except at the entrance, where Thothmes III. is followed not by his queen but by his two daughters, the name of one of whom is destroyed. The other one is *Merit Amon*, a name very similar to that

[1] *Deir el-Bahari* IV., Pl. 104.

of her mother. Her name is enclosed in a cartouche. Her titles are  , "the royal daughter, the royal sister, the divine wife, the ——?" These last words show that she is connected with the worship of Amon. She is not mentioned among the daughters of Thothmes whose names are inscribed in his tomb. This is the only princess of that name in the XVIIIth Dynasty.

The end representation had suffered much at the hands of Amenhetep IV. Amon had been erased, but the restorations have been made with great care; we do not know by whose orders, but they are very different from the careless work done by Rameses II. in the Great Temple.[1] Amon is sitting on his throne; before him Thothmes III. brings frankincense, and pours fresh water on two altars. The god answers with the usual promises of long life and felicity. There are many graffiti on the vacant surfaces of this scene; they are in hieratic of the XIXth Dynasty, and belong to an official called *Paraemheb*, who occurs in other parts of the temple.

The chapel was not dedicated to Hathor alone. Although the goddess takes the prominent place in it, Amon is not forgotten. She is the mother, but Amon is the father.

We cannot suppose that there was anything else in the chapel besides the cow; the room is too narrow. There are no traces even of any sacred furniture, the only things we found in the small heap of rubbish which was before her feet were a few wooden phalli and a fragment of a stelé (of the same type as that illustrated in Pl. xxv. e, which was found the year before) on which the cow is seen issuing from a mountain. She suckles a king, who is also represented under her head, but there is no name. She is called Hathor, "the lady of Zeser, who resides at Akhu-aset, the princess of the gods."

The cow, like the slabs of the chapel, is of sandstone; that is the reason why the legs have not been detached. She has been cut in an enormous piece of stone of the full thickness of the animal, and sufficiently high to reach to the top of the plumes on its head. She is of natural size, and in her shape is a perfect likeness of the cows of the present day. Her colour is a reddish brown, with spots which look like a four-leaved clover. These spots are found exactly in the same form in the pictures of Chapter CLXXXVI. of the Book of the Dead, where the cow is seen coming out of the mountain. In some other texts these spots are replaced by stars. However, they must not be considered as conventional representations of stars, they are copied from nature. It seems that there are animals with this particular colour and spots. Probably this was the sign that they were the incarnation of the goddess, just as some peculiar marks distinguished the Apis bull, the incarnation of Osiris. It is quite possible that the Egyptians valued that particular coat because the spots reminded them of stars, and could be considered as star-emblems, appropriate to the celestial goddess. The head, neck, and horns of this cow were certainly originally covered with gold, faint traces of it may be seen in the nostrils and on the horns; but the gold must have been very thin, like the very delicate coating which covers some statuettes, and which is metal beaten so thin that the sculpture is made with the same care as if the coating did not exist. It is the case with the cow; the sculpture of the head is as perfect as if it had not been covered by anything, and the taking away of the gold has not injured it in the least.

In only one place does the image look as if it had suffered; the face of the king under the cow's head is damaged, apparently. But evidently the goddess wore a *menat*, a heavy

[1] In Pl. xxviii. d, f, we see that in the inscription a sketch for the hieroglyphic picture of Amon has been made on Akhenaten's erasure, but the cutting of it was never carried out.

metal necklace which covered the face of the king, whose features had to be slightly flattened or were left rough and unfinished for the fixing of the necklace. This accounts for the rough blocking-out of the king's face. The cow wears between her horns the lunar disk, above which are two feathers. It is the usual representation of Hathor, the same as on the steles and in the Book of the Dead. She is the goddess of the mountain; she comes out of her cave and goes towards the river to the marshes, where she was supposed to have suckled Horus. In the Great Temple, where she comes to the queen and licks her hand,[1] she says to her, "I have wandered through the northern marshland, when I stopped at Khebt, protecting my Horus (child)." In the Book of the Dead, immediately at the foot of the mountain out of which she comes, we see quite a forest of high papyrus plants. Here the only way of representing them was to sculpture these plants on the sides of the neck. The water is close to her forefeet, and the buds and flowers reach to the top of her neck.

The purpose of this rather extraordinary representation is to show that Hathor is the divine mother of the king, as she was of Horus, whom she suckled in the marshes of Khebt. She says it to the queen in the Great Temple,[2] "I fill thy majesty with life and happiness, as I have done to my Horus (child) in the West of Khebt. I have suckled thy majesty with my breasts. I am thy mother who formed thy limbs and created thy beauties."

We have here a characteristic example of the aim of Egyptian sculpture. The wish of the artist was to be understood, and he did not care whether the way in which he expressed his thought was unreal and against the laws of nature. He wanted to show that the goddess, coming out of a mountain, went into a marsh, and he placed a bunch of water-plants on both sides of the animal. A Greek artist would never have done anything disagreeing so completely with the truth.

However, we have to admire the Egyptian artist, who by this convention did not spoil the beauty of his creation. The effect of these plants is not unfavourable, especially when seen from the front. It does not divert the attention from the admirable modelling which distinguishes the work, and from the life and expression which is so marvellously reproduced in the head. According to the judgment of experts, this cow is perhaps one of the finest representations of an animal that antiquity has left us; but while in Greece we should certainly know the author of such an admirable creation, in Egypt it is anonymous. The idea of a statue or a painting reflecting the mind and conception of one individual man, of being his property, is unknown to the Egyptians. They may reach, as in this case, the highest degree of art, nevertheless for them it remains a product of industry, the workmanship of which may be admired, but of which they do not give the credit to the author, who remains unknown.

On the neck, between the papyrus buds, we find the cartouche of Amenhetep II. It was not added later; it has been engraved at the same time as the plants; thus it is clear that the cow was made for him. It is he who is suckled by the goddess, and who stands under her head. Are we to suppose that the chapel was not finished when Thothmes III. died? Nothing in the sculptures indicates that he was not alive when the shrine was adorned. Shall we admit that Amenhetep II. replaced the cow which Thothmes III. had dedicated with his name by one bearing his own? We have no proof of it, but it seems probable. Had we any record of an association of Thothmes III. with his son, we might imagine that Thothmes III. had dedicated the cow with his son's name in order to establish more strongly his titles to the royal power, by showing that he was the son of Hathor; but

[1] *Deir el Bahari* IV., pl. 94.
[2] *Ibid.*, pl. 96, p. 4.

we have no such record. The cartouche of Amenhetep is the first one, the coronation cartouche, showing that he is a king in full power, who has been crowned and whose "royal name" has been duly fixed by the priests. We must conclude that, wishing to make an offering to the goddess, he caused the cow with his father's name to be taken out, and his own put in its place.

Cow and chapel have now been removed to the Cairo Museum, and constitute one of its chief ornaments.

CHAPTER VII.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PLATES.

By Ed. Naville and H. R. Hall.

Pl. i. The Hathor Cow: reproduction of a coloured drawing by Mr. C. M. Reach.

Pl. ii. Plan of the Temple at the end of the third season (1906). Drawn by Mr. C. R. Peers, from working plans by Messrs. E. R. Ayrton and C. T. Currelly.

Pl. iii. (*a*) General view of the Temple during the course of the second season's excavations, showing the pyramid-base uncovered, but the Southern Colonnade and Court not yet excavated.

(*b*) The North Lower Colonnade, showing detail of pavement and upper part of a column replaced in its original position.

These two views, which have been considerably reduced in size, were very kindly taken by Dr. L. Borchardt, in Jan. 1905.

Pl. iv. General view taken at the end of the third season by M. Chassinat, Director of the French School in Cairo. This shows on the right side the descending entrance to the sanctuary of the royal *ka*, and beyond it the mounds which had still to be removed at the time the photograph was taken (March 1906).

Pl. v. View of the north-western end of the Temple, showing the entrance of the XVIIIth Dynasty chapel, and site of the Hathor-shrine, by M. Chassinat.

Pll. vi.—x. Views of the excavations while in progress (mostly by Messrs. Hall and Dalison), and of the tombs of the princesses and objects found in them, arranged by Mr. Hall. Descriptions given under each. It should be noted that in Pl. ix. the two views of "models of bakers at work" are taken of the same object (Brit. Mus. No. 40915) though separated on the plate for convenience of arrangement.

Pl. xi. Plan of the granite eastern doorway; plans and sections of tombs, by Messrs. Hall and Ayrton. Drawings of model coffins (with one of the wax figures) found in the tombs of Kauit and Kemsit, by Mr. Ayrton.

Pl. xii. Fragments of reliefs from the Temple containing portraits, names, titles, etc., of the king and his successors; (*i*) and (*j*), now in the Cairo Museum, are the first inscriptions found of the king Sekhāenrā Mentuḥetep, who possibly belongs to the XIIIth Dynasty.

Pl. xiii. (*g*) Head of king Mentuḥetep from an Osiride statue (Brit. Mus. No. 720), and reliefs containing portraits of officials, scribes, etc. The sandstone slabs (*a*) and (*c*) are both from the facing wall at the western end of the Temple (p. 35): they are of peculiar style. The rest (except *d*) are from the walls in the eastern portion of the Temple: (*b*) represents the prow of a boat in the shape of the head of a ram (showing it to be the boat of Amon), with the *reïs* or captain standing upon it, and flourishing his *kûrbâg*; (*e*) a woman, the tenant of a royal farm, bringing her dues in kind; (*h*) men driving animals, from the same scene as the fine block published in the *Archaeological Report*, 1903-4, pl. iv. 12; (*k*) a scribe with his palette under his arm; (*i*) the royal hawk; (*d*) a royal sphinx, with human hands, holding an offering, is of the XVIIIth Dynasty.

Pl. xiv. Fragments of reliefs from the South

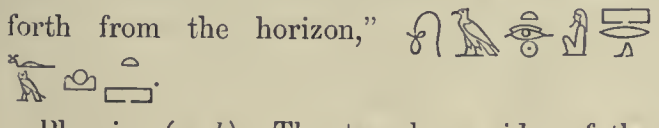
Lower Colonnade, representing chiefs, the king's wars against the Aamu, and scenes of boats and boatmen on the Nile; (*e*) is part of an inscription referring to a war (see p. 5).

Pl. xv. Similar scenes of the war against the Aamu, or "Reten-reru" (see p. 40).

Pl. xvi. Slabs with reliefs of animals, from scenes of the king hunting in the desert and in the marshes. These were found in the Southern Court, into which they must have fallen from the platform above. They therefore probably belong to the south wall of the ambulatory surrounding the pyramid.

Pl. xvii. Portraits of the queens and princesses, with their attendants. From the shrines or tomb-chapels. (*d*), the most perfect fragment found, is now in the Cairo Museum. An attendant offers to the princess Sadhe a cup of beer. (*g*, *h*), from the shrine of Kauit, show the face of the officer Apait.

These various fragments, though very incomplete, give a very good idea of the art of the XIth Dynasty. They generally have preserved their brilliant colours. The photographs on this plate were taken by Mr. Ayrton.

Pl. xviii. Fragments of chapels: (*a*, *b*, *c*) are still *in situ*, forming part of the chapels of the queens Aashait and Sadhe. The small fragment below joins (*c*), giving the head of the cow and hind quarters of the calf, whom she is licking. The man standing in the upper register of (*c*) is named Antef: the name is inscribed in minute green hieroglyphs at his side. Below are fragments, mostly of cornices, inscribed with the names of the princesses Sadhe and Kauit, and the record of the offerings made to them. (Photographs by Messrs. Ayrton and Garnett-Orme.) Specially noticeable is one with the name of a hitherto unknown minor deity, Uat-Rā, "who cometh forth from the horizon,"  .

Pl. xix. (*a*, *b*). The two long sides of the sculptured sarcophagus of the princess Kauit, now in the Museum at Cairo. (*c*, *d*, *e*) The three statues of Usertsen III., now in the British Museum (Nos. 684-6). (*f*, *g*) The same statues shortly after their discovery, in the court of the house at Deir el-Bahari: (*g*), representing the king as an old man, is in the Cairo Museum.

Pl. xx. Linear reproductions of the inscriptions and sculptures on the sarcophagus of Kauit. By Madame Naville.

Pl. xxi. The inscriptions on the sarcophagus of Henhenit. By Madame Naville.

Pll. xxii., xxiii. Reconstruction in colour of the scenes on the sarcophagus of Kemsit, fragments of which, reproduced on Pl. xxiii., are now in the British Museum (No. 43037). By Madame Naville.

Pl. xxiv. The great granite stelé of Usertsen III., recording offerings made to the sanctuary of Neb-hepet-Rā Mentuhetep. Drawn by Madame Naville.

Pl. xxv. (*a*, *d*). The Osiride statue in limestone of Amenḥetep I., found near the ramp of the Temple, and now in the British Museum (No. 683). Height 9 ft. 2 in. (*b*) Stelé showing this statue and others, wearing *heb-sed* garment; given with the statue to the British Museum (No. 690). 16½ in. by 11½ in. (*c*) Head of an alabaster figure of a cow (originally painted red), with eyes inlaid with lapis-lazuli. The horns, ears, and disk, which have disappeared, were probably of metal. It is of XVIIIth Dynasty work, and the figure to which it belonged was probably preserved in the Hathor-shrine in the Great Temple of Queen Hatshepsu, from which it fell on to the XIth Dynasty building below. (British Museum, No. 42179, exhibited in the Third Egyptian Room, Case 126.) Height 14 in. (*e*) Stelé with representation of the Hathor cow suckling a young king, who may be Hatshepsu (in male attire), Thothmes III. or Amenḥetep II. (Brit. Museum, No. 689). Found in 1904. Height 10½ in. (*f*) Two fragments of a stelé with

representation of Hathor being worshipped by Amenhetep I., with, below, the figures of attendants, Amenmes and his wife, Amenhetep, who precedes him, with their little son. The representations of baskets, &c., on this stelé are interesting. Curious flat work.

Pl. xxvi. Linear drawings of various stelae, recording the worship paid to the deified King Neb-hepet-Rā. By Mr. James T. Dennis. (*a*) has been assigned to the Museum of Bolton, Lancs.

Pl. xxvii. The Hathor-shrine, showing the cow in position, when first discovered. Enlargement of a negative by Madame Naville.

Pl. xxviii. Views of the interior of the shrine : (*d*, *f*) show the western end, with a scene of Thothmes III. worshipping Amen. (*f*), enlarged, shows the hieratic graffito containing the proskynêma of the scribe Pa-rā-em-ḥeb, , and the sketched hieroglyph of the god Amon (p. 65). (*a*, *b*, *c*, *e*) show the frescoes on the side-walls. Photographs by Madame Naville, Mr. Dennis, and Mr. Dalison.

Pll. xxix., xxx. The cow seen from both sides, photographed by Emile Brugsch Pasha, in the Cairo Museum. It is to be noticed that the papyrus-plants from among which the cow is supposed to be issuing, and the figure of the king under her head, have been very skilfully used by the artist as supports for the great weight of the head with its horns and heavy disk and feathers.

Pl. xxxi. Front view of the cow. By Emile Brugsch Pasha.

For further references to the pages on which the objects, etc., illustrated are described, see the Index.

END OF PART I.

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PLATES.

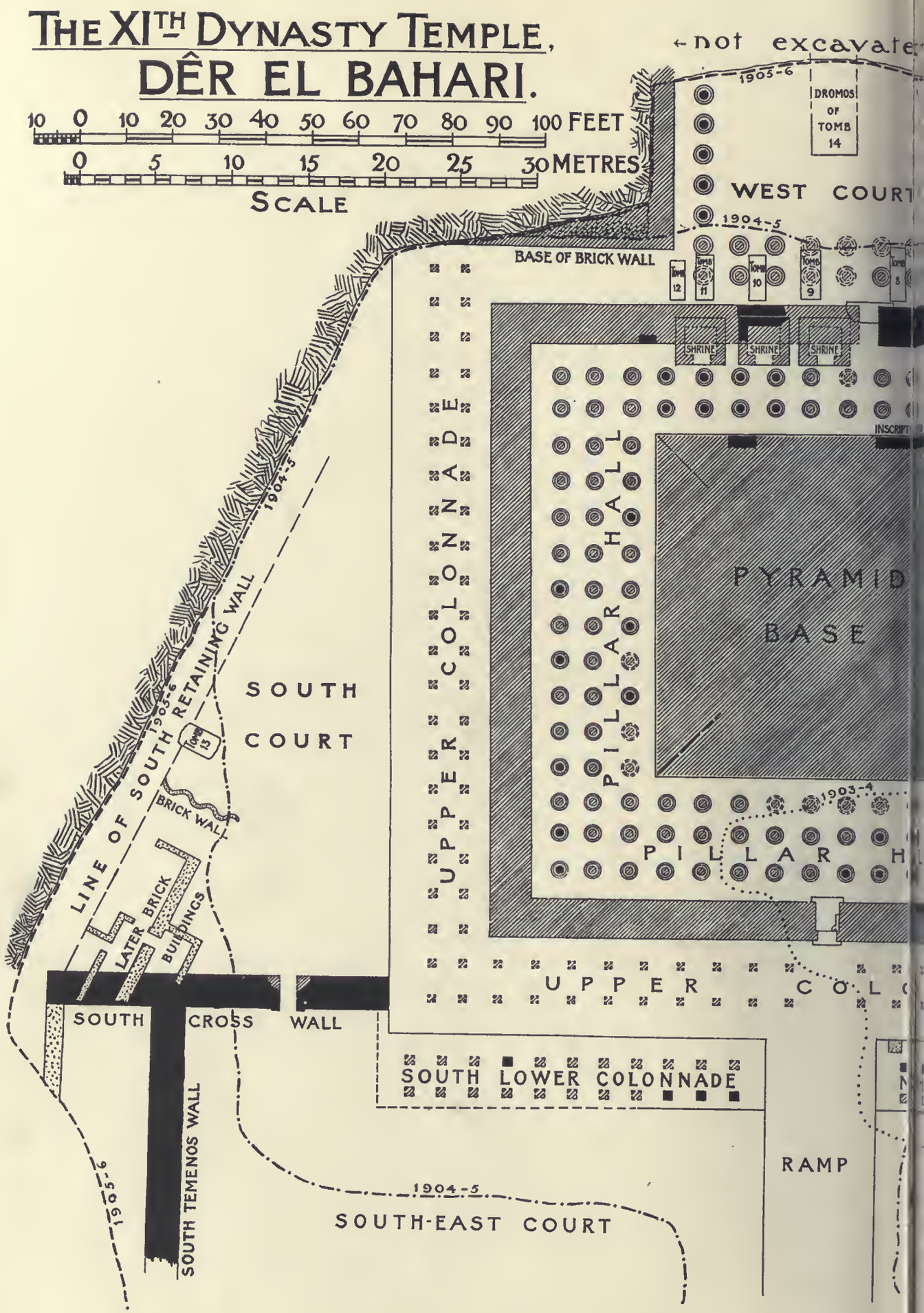
ERRATA IN THE PLATES.

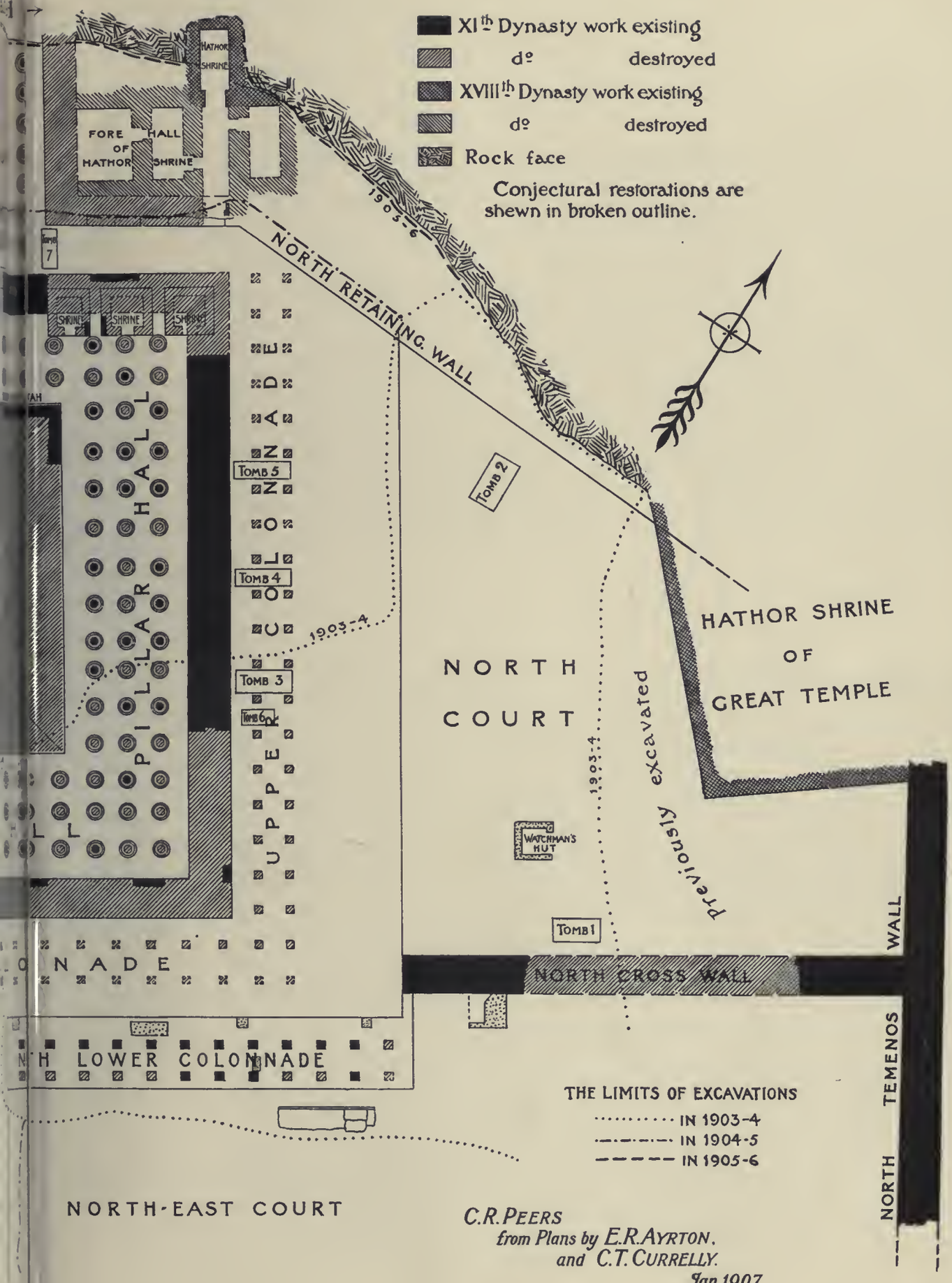
Plate VI. Nos. 1 and 2 have been transposed: No. 1 (Deir el-Bahari, *Dec.*, 1904) should be on the left-hand side. No. 3: for "Xth" read "XIth."

Plate VIII. 10. For "cocert" read "court."

Plate X. For "Henhenct" read "Henhenit."

Plate XI. Plan of Tomb No. 2: for "brickword" read "brickwork."


THE XITH DYNASTY TEMPLE,
DÊR EL BAHARI.
10 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 FEET
0 5 10 15 20 25 30 METRES
SCALE
← not excavate
1905-6
DROMOS OF TOMB 14
WEST COURT
1904-5
BASE OF BRICK WALL
Tomb 12
Tomb 11
Tomb 10
Tomb 9
Tomb 8
SHRINE
SHRINE
SHRINE
INSCRIPT
UPPER COLONNADE
PILLARED HALL
PYRAMID BASE
1904-5
1905-6
LINE OF SOUTH RETAINING WALL
SOUTH COURT
Tomb 13
BRICK WALL
LATER BRICK BUILDINGS
1903-4
PILLAR H
UPPER COL
SOUTH CROSS WALL
SOUTH LOWER COLONNADE
RAMP
SOUTH TEMENOS WALL
1905-6
1904-5
SOUTH-EAST COURT



C.R. Peers
from Plans by E.R. Ayrton, and C.T. Currelly.
Jan. 1907

Borchardt.

General View of the XI[th] Dynasty Temple.
in *January 1905*

Borchardt.

The North Lower Colonnade.

General view in *March 1906*.

Chassinat.

The XVIIIth Dynasty chapel, and site of the Hathor-shrine.

Deir El-Bahari, *Dec. 1905.*

Deir El-Bahari, *Dec. 1904.*

Bird's Eye View of the ~~XI~~ 11th Dyn. Temple.

Digging the Great Trench, *Nov. 1904.*

The XVIIIth Dyn. Ramp.

Excavating the Platform, *Jan. 1904.*

The Granite Threshold. *H. H.*

The two Temples from the South. *M. D.*

The Excavation, *Dec. 1903.* *H. H.*

The North Lower Colonnade. *H. H.*

The west facing of the Pyramid-Base, with inscription of Siptah. *M. D.*

Excavating the South Temenos-wall, *Jan. 1906.* *M. D.*

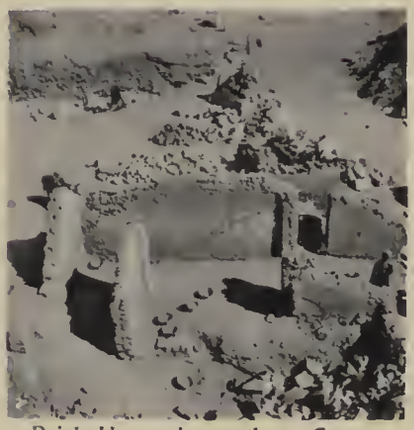
The Excavations from the west. *M. D.*

The North Cross-wall and Court. *H. H.*

XIth Dynasty wall : North Court.

XIth and XVIIIth Dyn. Walls : North Court. *H. H.*

The south Temenos wall and Brick buildings, Looking E.



Brick House in southern Court.

Excavation of the western End of the Temple shewing nature of the Debris. *H. H.*

XIXth Dyn. Graffiti on a Pillar of the north Lower Colonnade *H. H.*

Raising a Sarcophagus out of a tomb : shewing Pillars with marks of quarrying. *S. P H.*

Pillar with Name of Neb-Hepet-Ra north lower Colonnade

Salt pavement in the pyramid *E. R. A.*

North lower cocert showing sharp angle of walls. *Borchardt*

Door of Chamber tomb N° 4.
H. H.

Model of Bakers at work. Tomb N° 3.

Sarcophagus in Position. Tomb N° 4.
H. H.

Model of Servant
Tomb N° 5.

Model of Granary. Tomb N° 3.

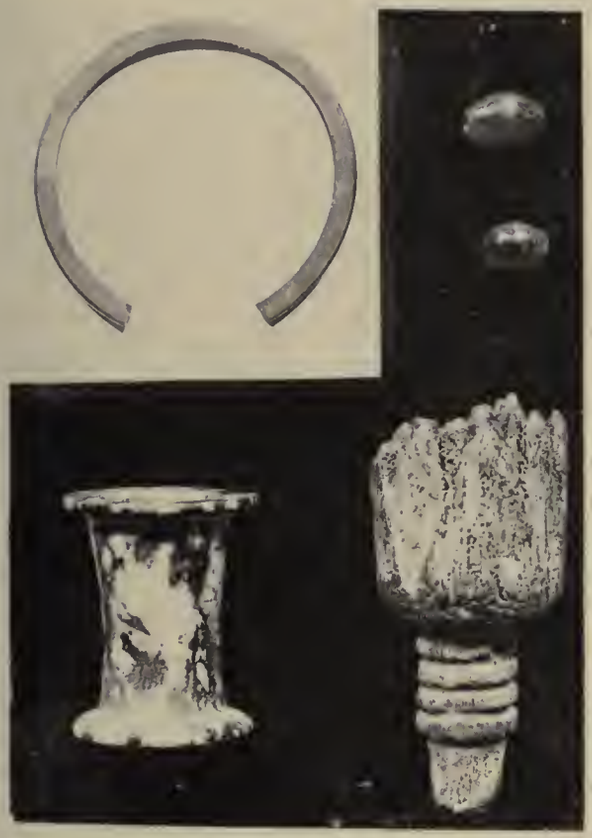
Model of Servant.
Tomb N° 5.

Model of Bakers at work. Tomb N° 3.

Model coffin with wax Figure of the Priestess
Kemsit. Tomb N° 10.

Blue Glazed Faïence Necklace. Tomb N° 3.

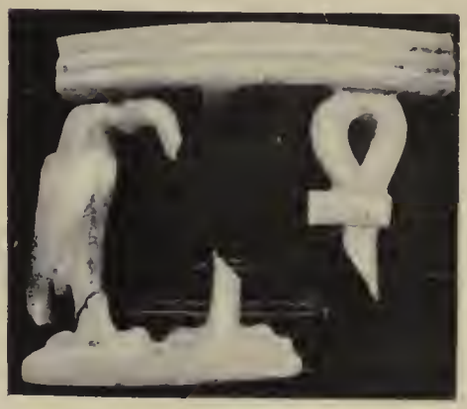
Remains of Mummy, Bangles, etc. Tomb N° 3.



Objects from Tombs 1, 2, 5 and 9.

Leather Sandals.
Tomb N° 7

Drab ware Vase.

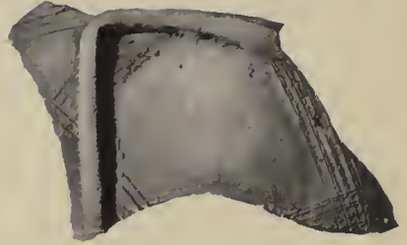


Alabaster Vase-Stand. Tomb N° 5.

Drab ware Vase.

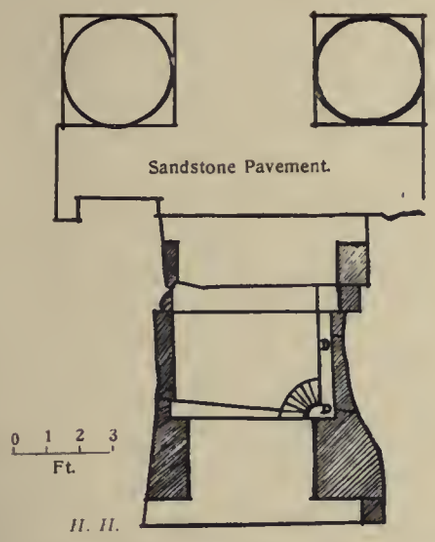
Mummy of the Priestess Henhenct. Tomb N° 11.

J. G. M.

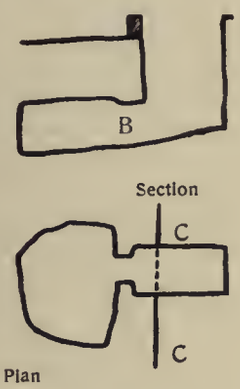


Drab ware Fragment from beneath Temple-Door

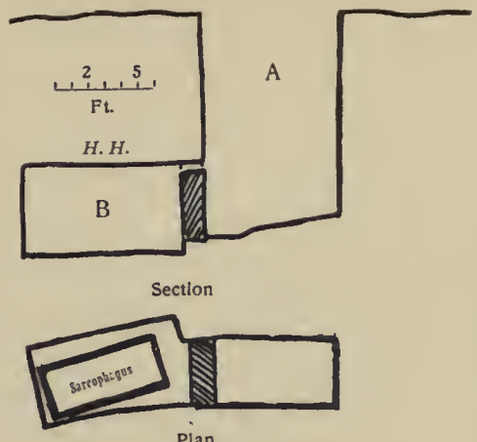
XIth DYNASTY TOMBS AND REMAINS.



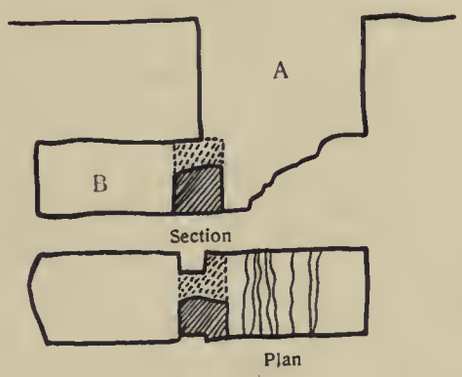
Granite Threshold of east Door, shewing Relation to Pillars Beyond.
Shaded portions originally covered by walls, etc.
DD : Socket and Channel for Door.



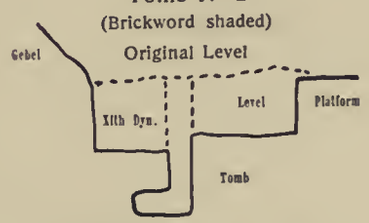
Tomb N° 13
(CC line of Foundation-Trench)
2 5 10
Ft.



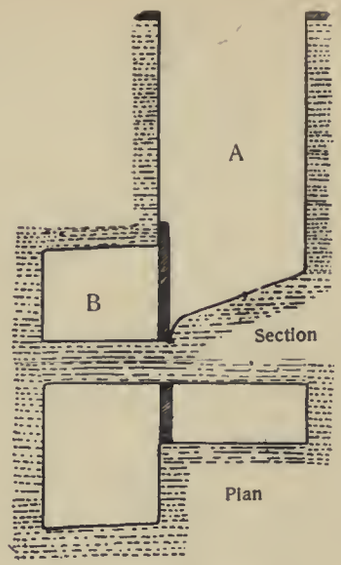
Tomb N° 4



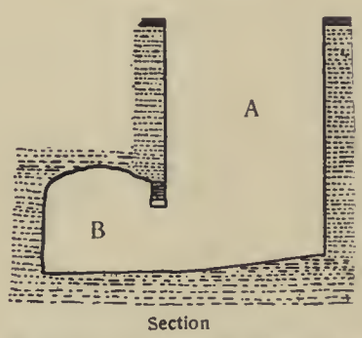
Tomb N° 2
(Brickword shaded)

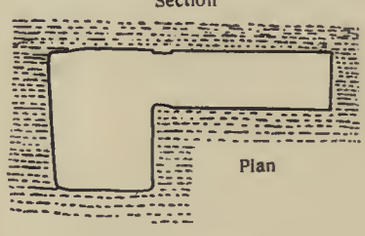


Sketch Section of S. Court
(not to scale)
Shewing construction of Tomb N° 13



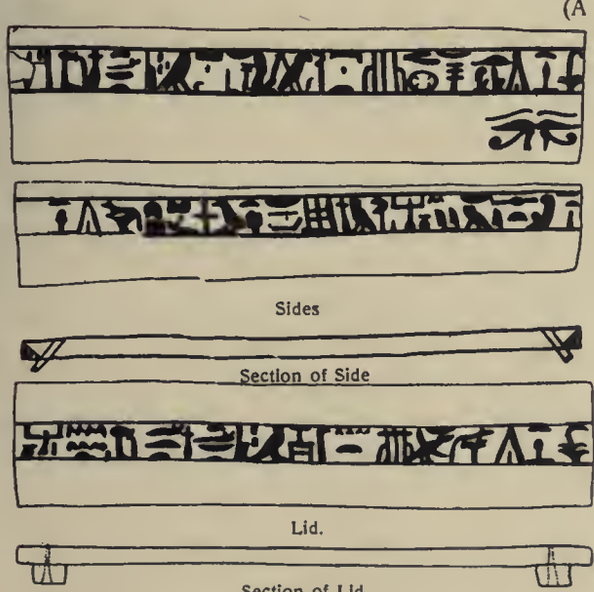
Tomb N° 9 (Kauit).



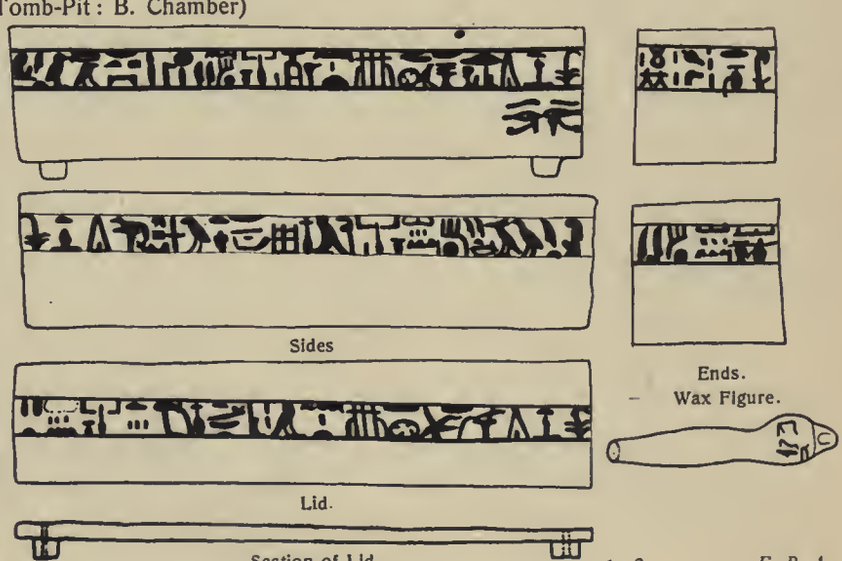


Tomb N° II (Henhenit).
0 1 2 5
Feet
E. R. A.

PLANS AND SECTIONS OF TOMBS.
(A Tomb-Pit : B. Chamber)



Kemsit (Tomb N° 10)



Kauit (Tomb N° 9)

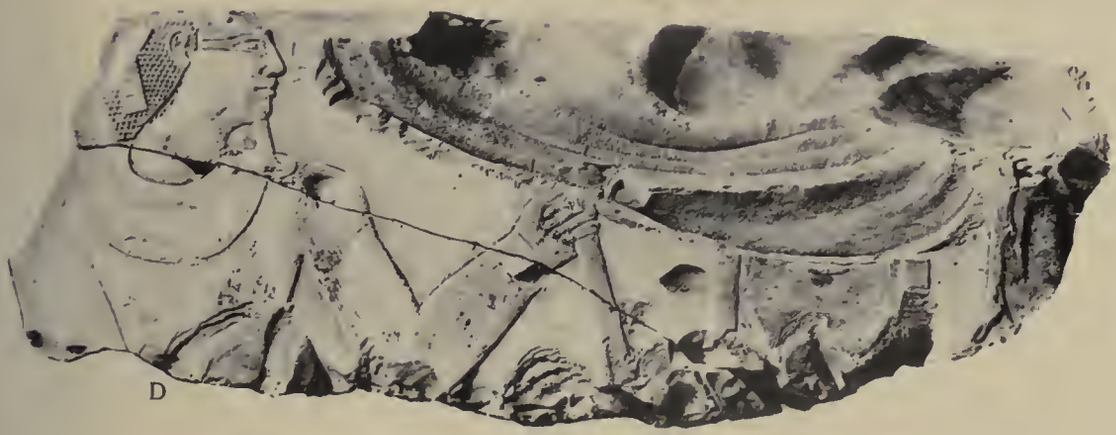
MODEL COFFINS, CONTAINING WAX FIGURES OF THE DECEASED :
FROM THE TOMBS OF KEMSIT AND KAVIT.

A

B

C

ROM
ACC NO 910.



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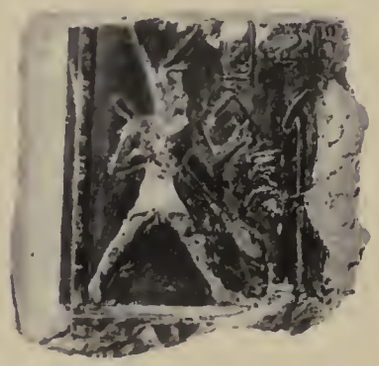


E

F

G

H

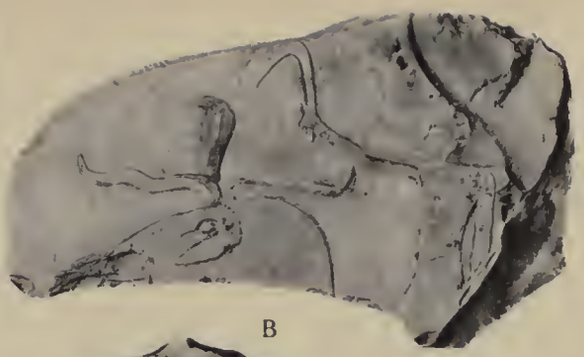
I

J

K

MENTUHETEP II, HIS FAMILY AND SUCCESSORS.

A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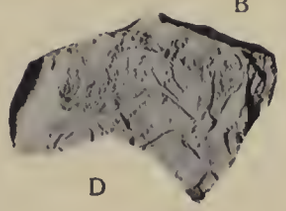
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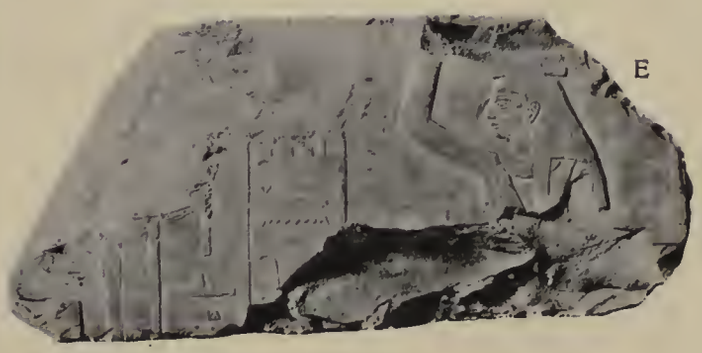
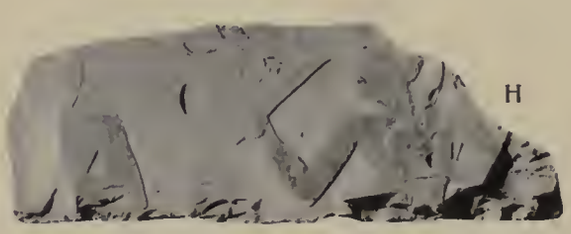

E

R.O.M.A
Acc no. 910.34.E/5

G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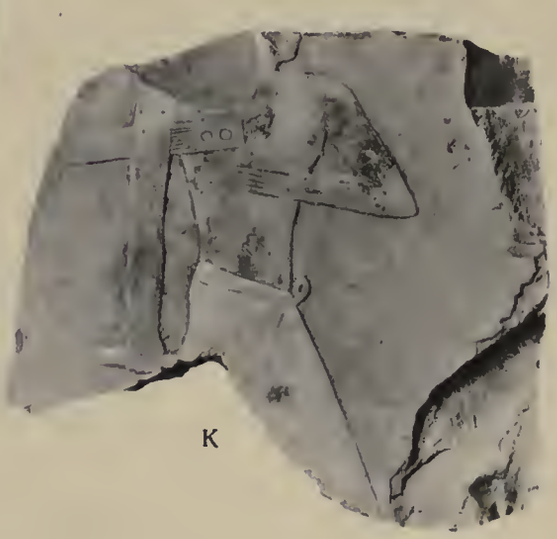
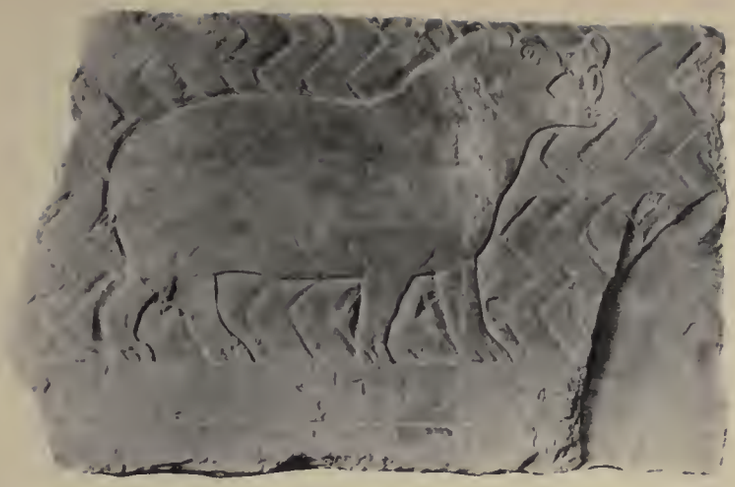

K

MENTUHETEP II AND OFFICIALS OF HIS COURT.

WAR-SCENES

WAR-SCENES



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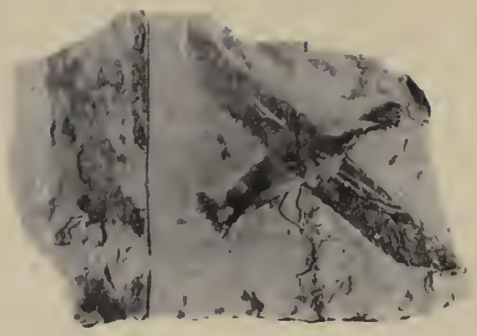

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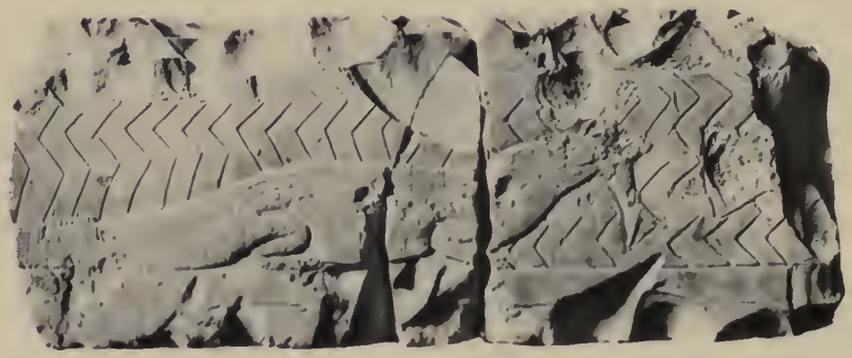
C



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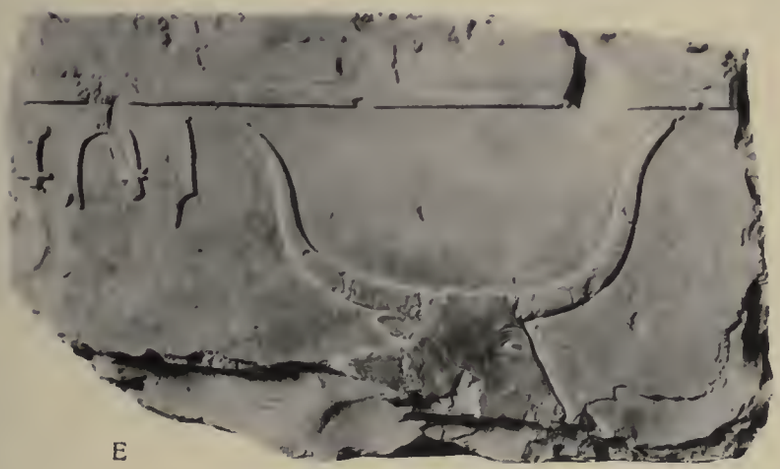


E

F

G

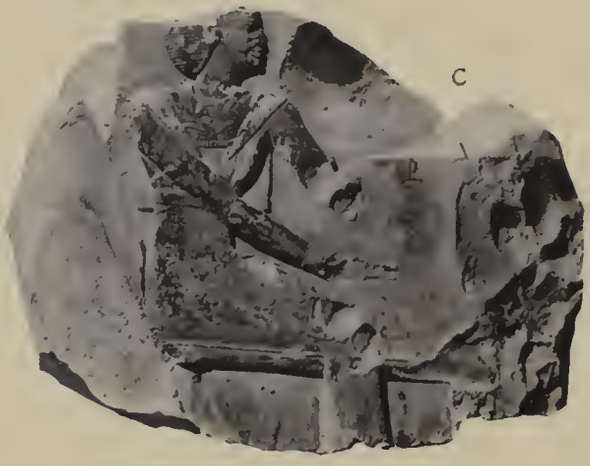
H

HUNTING-SCENES.

A

R. O. M. A.
Acc. no. 910.34.3

B



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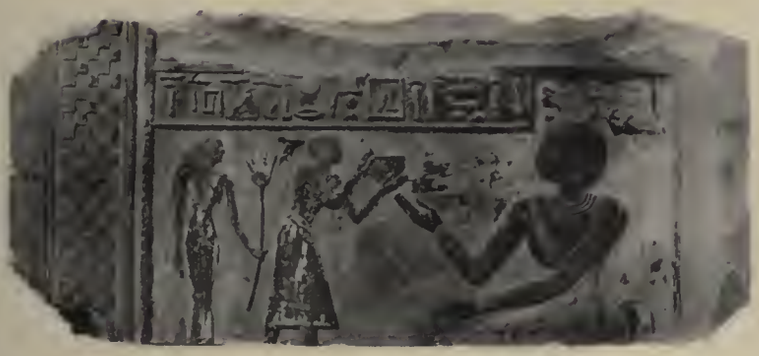


D

E

F

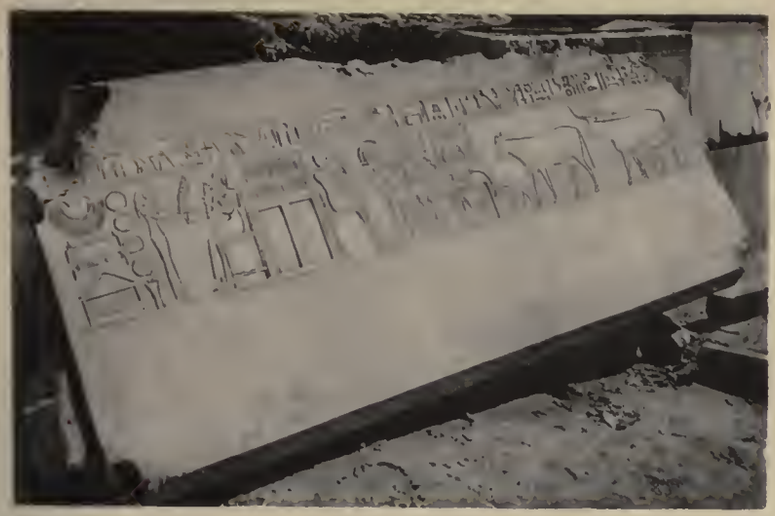
G

H

R.O.M.A.

RELIEFS FROM THE SHRINES OF THE PRINCESSES.

RELIEFS FROM THE SHRINES OF THE PRINCESSES.



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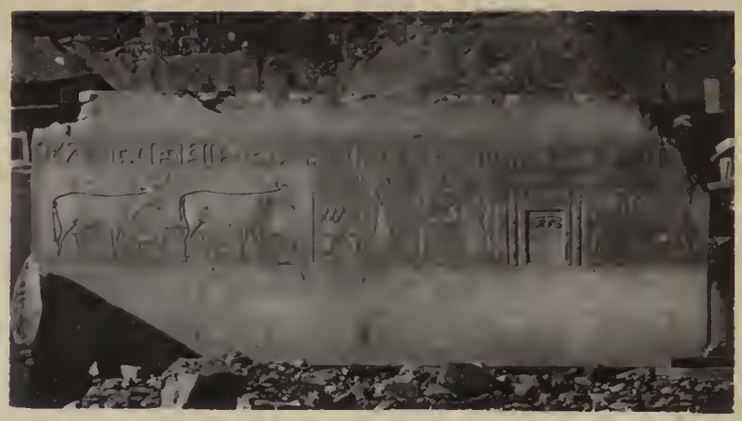


B

C

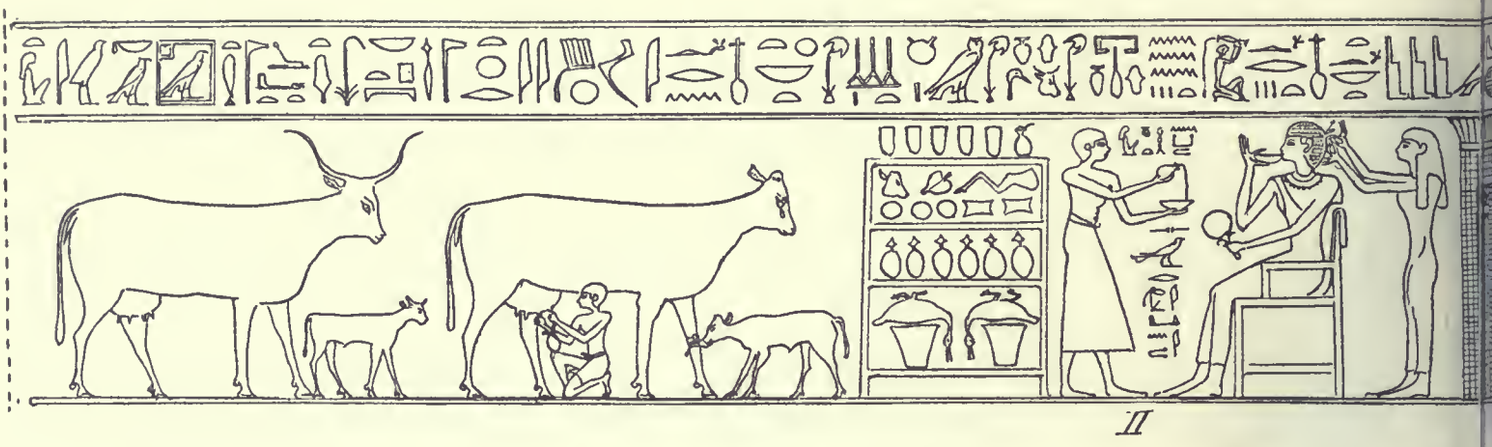
D

E

F

G

SARCOPHAGUS OF KAUIT AND STATUES OF USERTSEN III.



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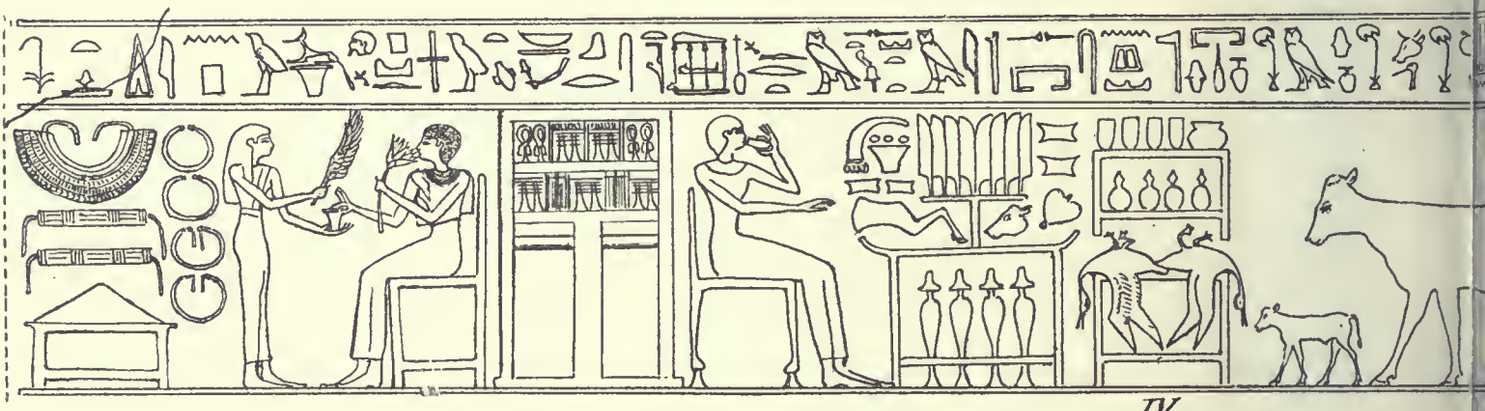

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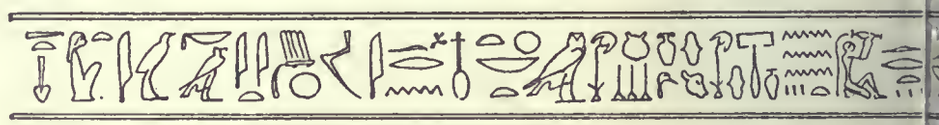
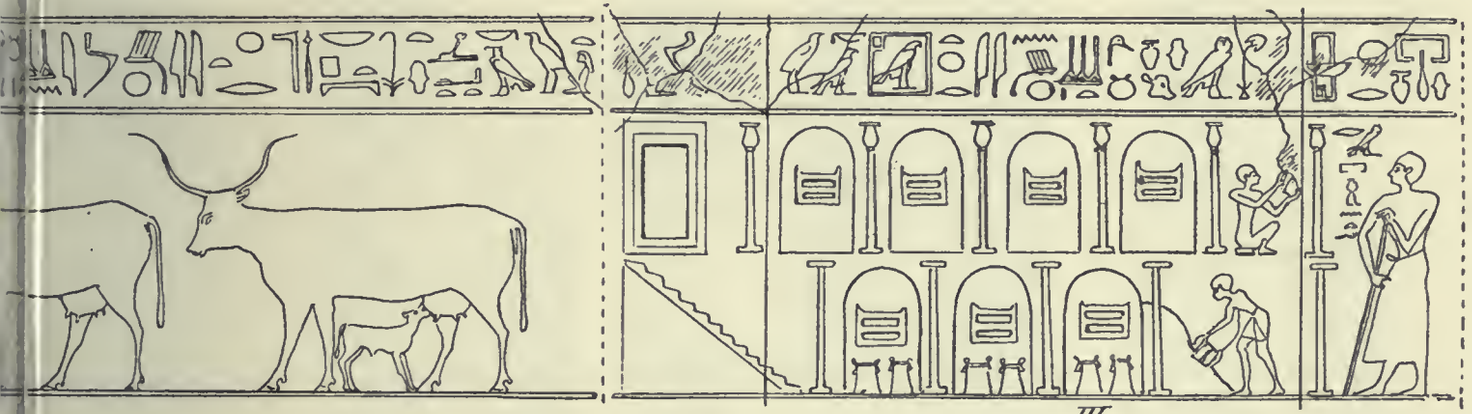
Lid



Inside A

C

Outside I



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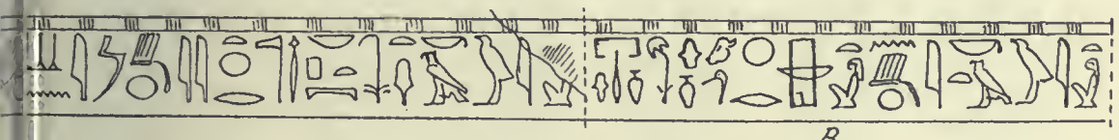

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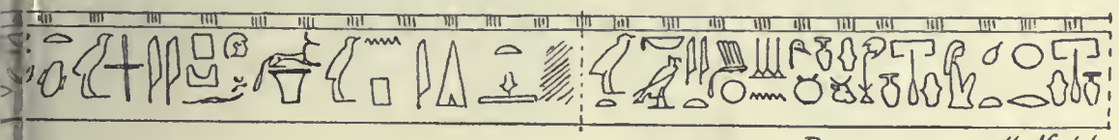
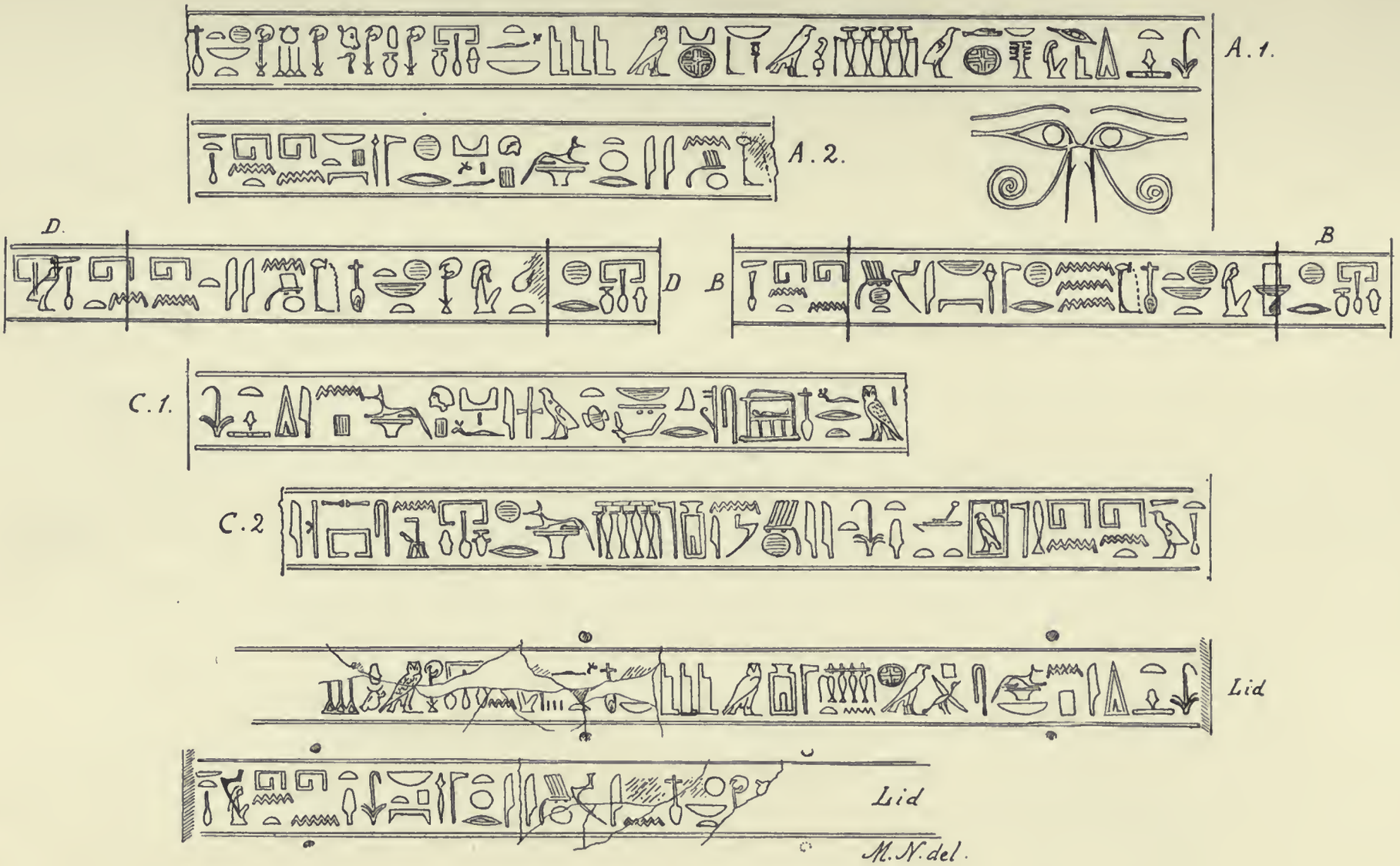
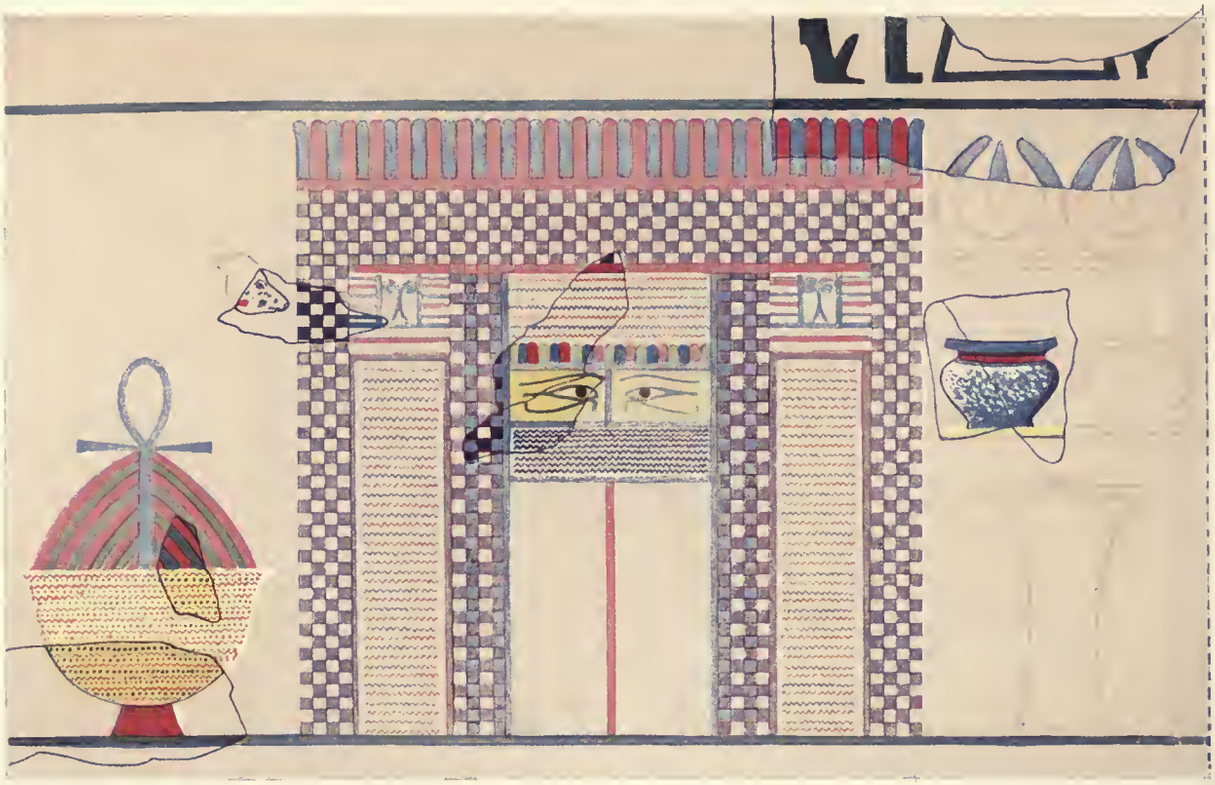
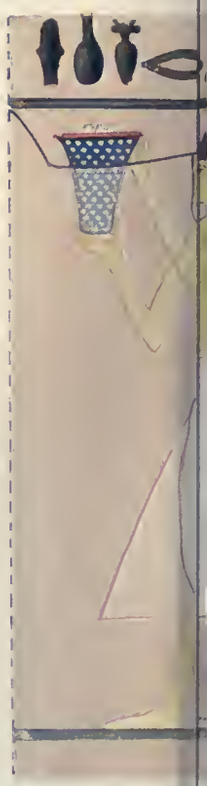


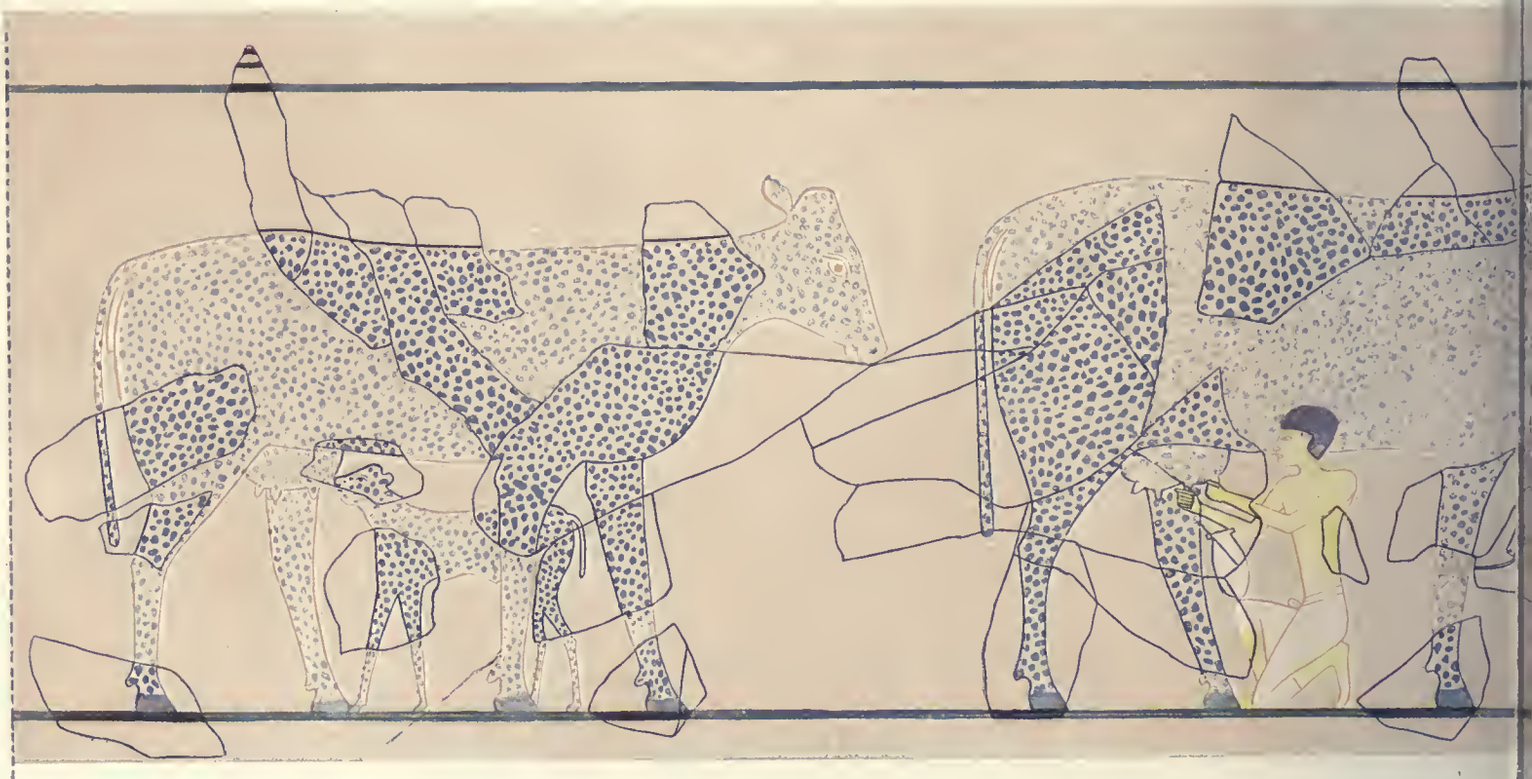
D M.N. del.



INSCRIPTIONS OF THE SARCOPHAGUS OF HENHENIT.

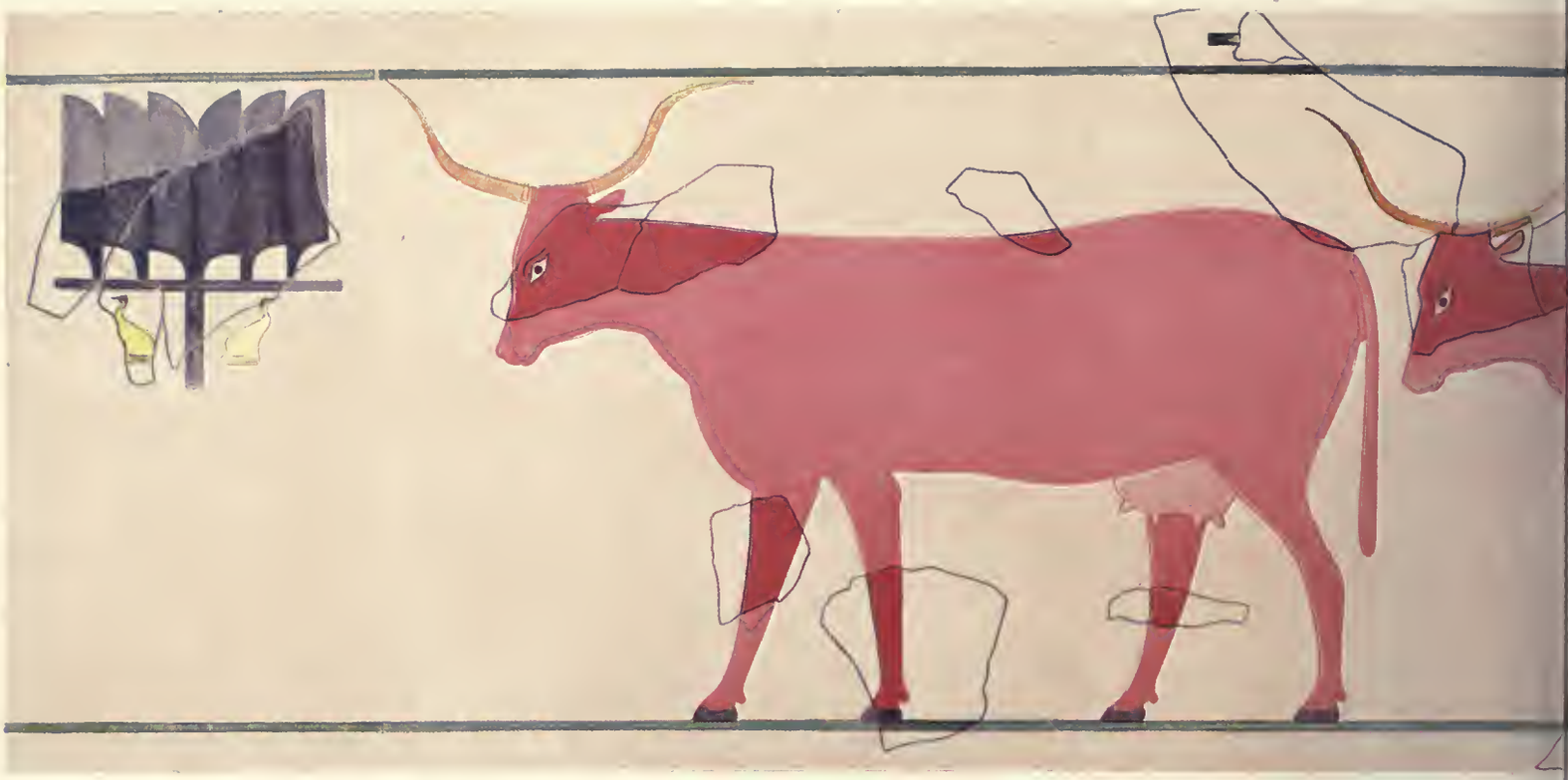


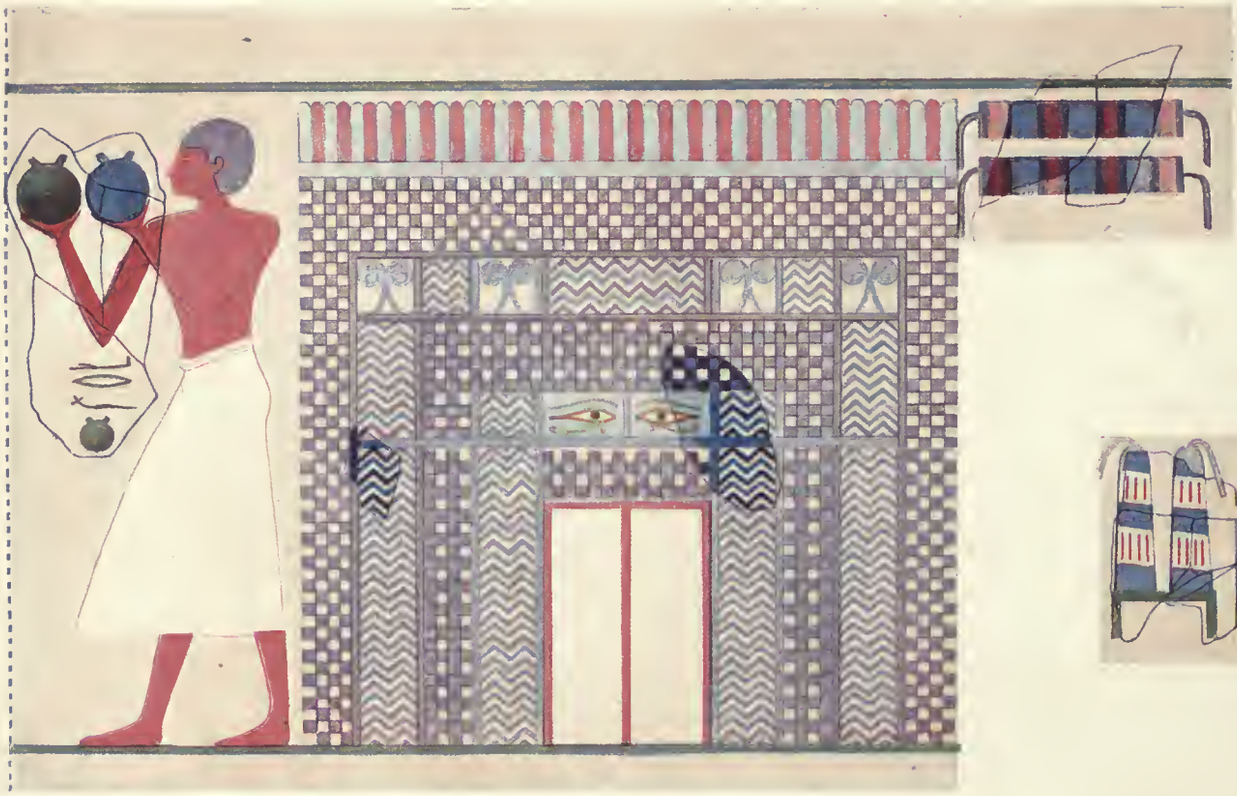


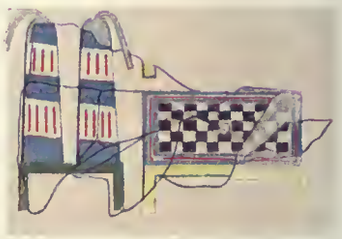


M. N del.

KEMSIT.







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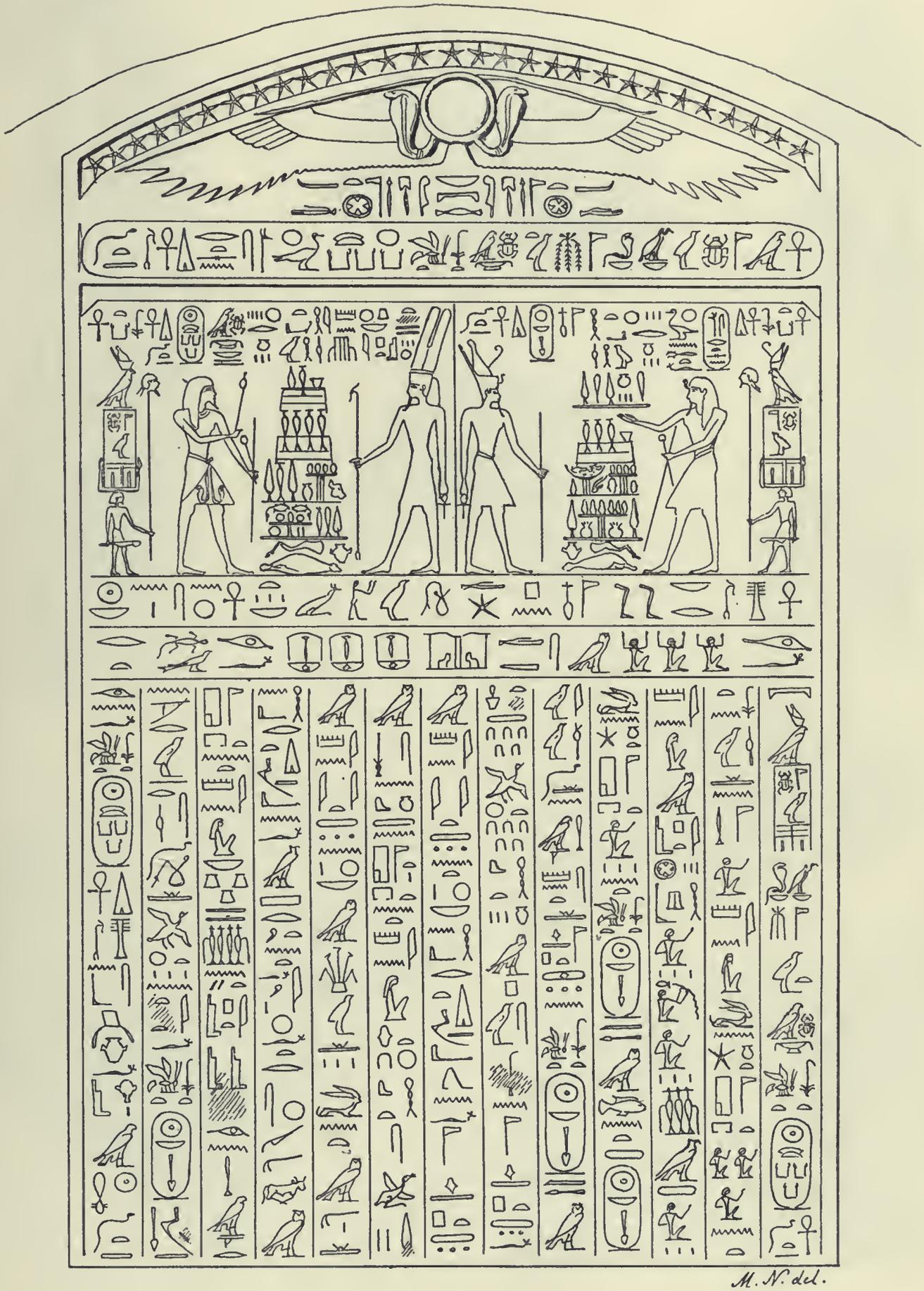


M. N. del.

STELE OF USERTSEN III.

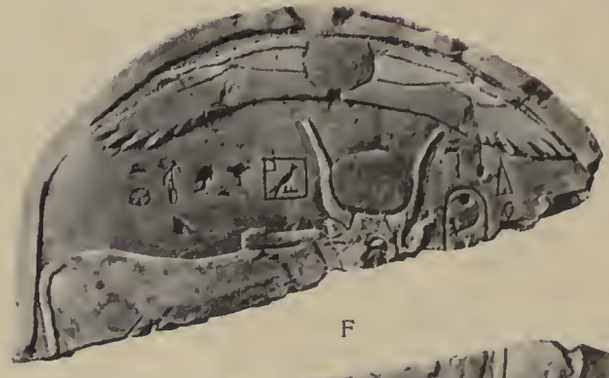
A

B

C

D

E



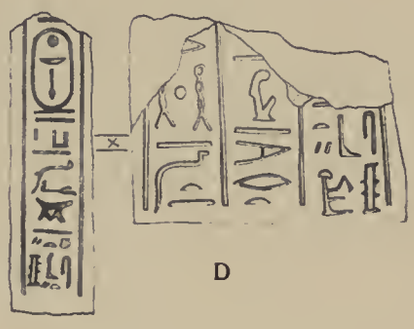
F

AMENOPHIS I AND THE WORSHIP OF HATHOR.

A

B

C



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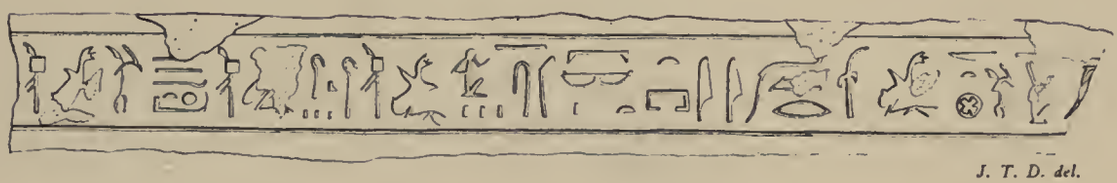


J. T. D. del.

E

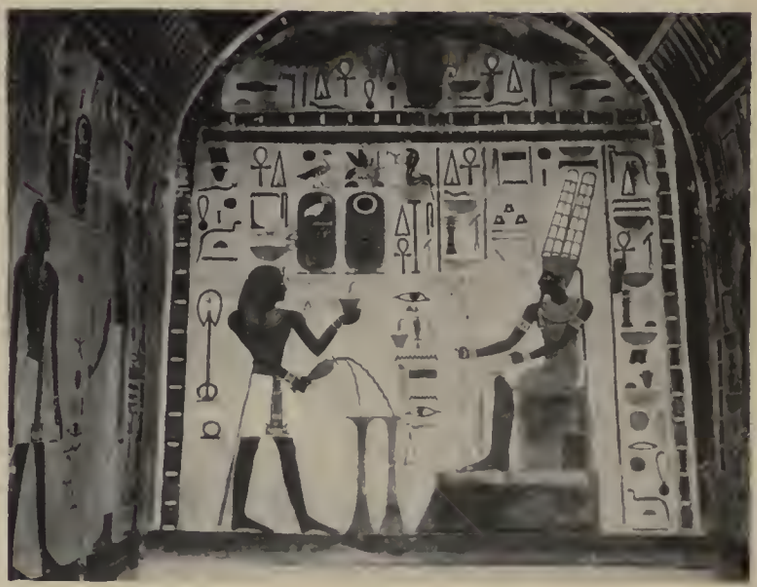
THE WORSHIP OF NEB-HEPET-RA.

THE HATHOR-SHRINE.

A J. T. D.

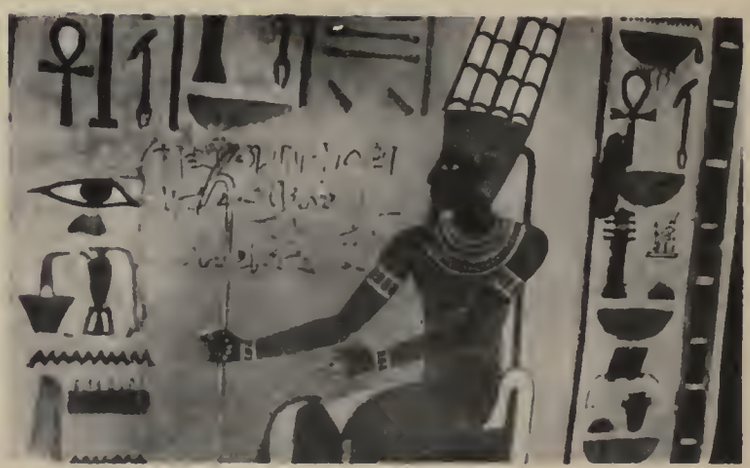
B J. T. D.

C M. N.



D J. T. D.

E J. T. D.



F M. D.

SCULPTURES OF THE HATHOR-SHRINE.

The Hathor-cow from the left side.

THE HATHOR-COW FROM THE RIGHT SIDE.

THE HATHOR-COW.

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